FREE INDIA FORGES AHEAD



A
YUVABHARATHI
PUBLICATION

A NEW DAWN AWAITS .... A NEW DEAL

For weaker sections in Andhra Pradesh

★

What has Andhra Pradesh Government done for them?

Land for the Landless: During the last one year a million acres have been distributed as a result of crash programme.

A Leap Forward: To ensure a quicker pace of progress for the tribal population, the plan allocation has been increased by ten times, protective legislation of a radical nature for scheduled areas and debt relief legislation have been enacted. Welfare of Harijans - 'children of God' received an impetus by five fold increase in the plan under this sector.

A Massive Venture: A Rs. 1.5 crore scheme for the economic development of the scheduled areas has been launched.

Homes for the Homeless: A Rs. 12 crore housing programme to cover nearly 70,000 families belonging to the scheduled castes, tribes and other backward classes is being programmed by the state Government.

NOT ONLY THIS, BUT MANY MORE MEASURES FOR THE WELFARE OF THE DOWN-TRODDEN ARE CONTEMPLATED.

Issued by the Director of Information, Public Relations and Tourism, Govt. of A. P.

FREE INDIA FORGES AHEAD

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

YUVABHARATHI'S NINTH ANNIVERSARY PRESENTATION

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Regd. No.1/64

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a literary and cultural organisation

5, KINGSWAY, SECUNDERABAD . 500003.

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A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS DEPICTING THE PROGRESS OF INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

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FREE INDIA FORGES AHEAD
25 YEARS OF FREEDOM

PROF. P. V. RAJAGOPAL
CHAIRMAN,
Editorial Committee, 'Free India Forges Ahead' and
PRINCIPAL,
Evening College, Hyderabad

[Yuvabharathi brings out this Souvenir containing articles by eminent persons spanning a wide field. The articles relate to the political, economic, social and cultural, literary and educational progress of our country in the first 25 years of independent existence. Our purpose in placing this Souvenir in the hands of our readers is, to give them a glympse of free India's achievements together with an indication of the problems and pitfalls that still lie ahead. It is hoped that this humble service of Yuvabharathi to its readers will be appreciated. We also hope that the articles will prove informative and thought-provoking. We are deeply grateful to the contribution.]

The 15th of August 1972 is of historic significance marking as it does an important milestone in our Nation's journey, towards its long-cherished goal of economic and social justice within the framework of stable and dynamic political institutions. During the past twenty five years which have gone by since India became free, we have had our share of extraordinary trials and tribulations; but by and large, ths nation has emerged unscathed, exhibiting in the process a rare resilience and vitality of spirit. It is therefore proper and legitimate that the Silver Jubilee of our Independence should have occasioned much rejoicing and celebration. Professional pessimists and doubting Thomases who have a vested interest in spreading gloom and propagating despair, have only to look at the way some of our Asian neighbours have fared during this period to have their confidence and hope in our country's future strongly

revived. This is, of course, not to say that serious shortcomings and setbacks have not been witnessed. Indeed they have been. It would be naive to expect that in the short span of twenty five years the nation's inherited problems of stupendous magnitude could have been solved even if we had brought to this tremendous task statesmanship, devotion, ability and patriotism of the highest order. Failures there certainly have been and some of them of monumental proportions; but, when set against the tremendous progress we have made in diverse fields, they should be a source, not of despondency, but of renewed challenge.

Politically our major achievement has been to integrate and hold together this vast and heterogenous country and to have succeeded in administering its affairs under the auspices of a truly democratic and flexible constitution which has sought to reconcile the overriding demands of the public interest with those of the individual's legitimate rights. It is true that the functioning of Democracy has revealed certain ugly features which are incompatible with its spirit if not its letter. But these are not to be regarded as permanent disfigurements. Rather, they are incidental to the experiment and stem from economic and social causes and from lack of experience. Time will see them disappear as the people gain in political maturity, social and economic self-confidence and realise the stakes involved.

In the economic sphere the nation's performance has been trully impressive by any yardstick; but surely it should have been better considering the massive deployment of human and material resources. Here the cause of failure may be traced as much to comparative inefficiency and corruption as to bureaucratic bungling and obsession with ideology. But even under fairweather conditions, our economic endeavour would still have left much to be desired because of the phenomenal growth of the population and our inevitably over – ambitious aims and paucity of resources. But in all fairness this at least must be said that through trials and errors, we seem to be proceeding in the right direction, notwithstanding the slowness and uncertainty of the pace, not to speak of the many loadblocks that lie in the way.

In the sphere of social transformation, again, the nation is certainly forging ahead trying step by step to emancipate large sections of the population from agelong disabilities and discrimination.

The best proof of this is the widespread awakening and assertiveness of hither-to retarded sections of the population and their increasingly active involvement in the political, economic and social life of the country. Here again, it must be pointed out that social attitudes and conduct do not always match constitutional and legislative guarantees and consequently we do hear now and then of instances of social intolerance, exclusiveness and arrogance reminiscent of the past. But the tide has clearly turned against the past in this matter and education will surely fill the gap which the constitution and the laws cannot remedy.

In terms of cultural progress, we have much to be gratified about. In the wake of independence there has occurred a cultural renaissance and a reassertion of our rich and varied linguistic, literary and artistic identity. Similar has been the great growth of science and technology in the service of the nation's economic development.

The brief survey made above should inspire self-confidence and not complacency. A great deal remains to be done calling for the best, united and disciplined effort for which the nation is capable. The youth of the country in particular, have a great stake in the future and must prepare themselves for the task. They have perhaps received hitherto a raw deal and freedom has probably not meant much for them. This has led to what is called the generation gap and lack of rapport between the old and the young. This gap must be speedily ended by a little more idealism on the part of the old and a great deal more realism on the part of the young. Only then the creative energies of the youth can be mobilised and directed to nation-building tasks instead of allowing them to express themselves in defiantly negative and destructive forms.

But more than anything else what the nation needs to do is to restore sound ethical norms in the conduct of its affairs. There it no doubt that our moral values have been steadily eroded and some times cynically repudiated in our preoccupation with quick political or economic success. It is here that we have totally betrayed the Father of the Nation. It is a shortsighted and dangerous view that a nation can escape paying a heavy price for turning away from universal moral values. Many countries and civilisations in history owe their eventual decline and fall to their moral collapse.

Our's is a country whose past greatness was founded in its spiritual strength. We of the present, should preserve this precious source of our historic destiny, simultaneously with our quest for modernity.

*

YUVABHARATHI FORGES AHEAD

Today India is a proud nation with a past that is worthy, with a present that is hopeful and with a future which is bright. We have completed 25 years of independent existence as a nation dedicated to high ideals.

Yuvabharathi is in its Ninth year of dedicated service to the cause of literature and better intellectual discipline. Yuvabharathi in its own humble way, celebrates the Silver Jubilee of Indian Independence by bringing out this special publication in English, "Free India Forges Ahead".

Yuvabharathi is known to the lovers of Telugu literature through its literary meetings and publications. It is for the first time that we are bringing out a book in English. We hope that this maiden venture of ours, will be appreciated and that we will be encouraged to bring more such useful publications on future occasions.

We originally started on an optimistic note and hoped to collect at least 50 articles from top ranking personalities in various fields and give them a book form. We have contacted nearly 100 persons and succeeded only partly. We could not help but reprint some selected articles, in order to ensure the presentation of the theme in a more purposeful manner. Frankly, we very seriously hoped to give a better publication, both in terms of quality and quantity. May be the future will give another occasion to fulfil our cherished desire.

Right from the time Yuvabharathi conceived the idea of publishing this book, till the last stage, we had the good fortune of

having the able guidance of the Chairman of the Editorial Committee- Professor P. V. Rajagopal, Principal, Hyderabad Evening College. The success of the plan is due to his very encouraging guidance and we are deeply grateful to him. A particular mention must be made of the pains-taking efforts of Dr. P. G. Lalye, Member, Editorial Committee for having taken keen and personal interest in ensuring the success of the contemplated project.

We thank the following persons for having given us permission to reprint the articles from their works.

1. Sri Khushwant Singh, Editor, Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay.	:	Our Foreign Policy
2. The Editor, The Hindu, Madras.	:	Greater self-reliance in Defence needs.
	:	New Tasks in Planning. Industrial Complexes Strengthen Regional Economies.
3. Sri V. R. Narla,	:	Telugu Journalism- a survey
	:	New trends in Telugu Journalism.
4. The Station Director, All India Radio, Calicut.	:	Indian Economy To-day
5. The Editor Bhavan's Journal, Bombay.	:	India's Changing Image Abroad

At the end of this book we have added a fourth sizeable section introducing Yuvabharathi, the men behind it, our publications, and certain other details. We are sure that the reader will be convinced of the spirit behind the Yuvabharathi's dedicated approach to the cause of serving literature and youth. This year, the ninth year of Yuvabharathi's life, has seen many an event of glory and gloom. We have completed with success an unprecedented programme of lectures and publications. Thousands of people attended the five lectures under the "Meet the Men of Vision" – CHAITANYALAHARI programme-and we brought out 15,000 copies of this book and offered it at a pre-publication price of Rs. 3/–. MAHATHI, our purposeful and pride-presentation to the nation on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations is a survey of the post-independent trends in Telugu culture, language and literature. We

have printed 12,000 copies of this 740 pages book and offered it at an incredibly low pre-publication price of Rs. 7/-.

A WORD OF GRATITUDE

Though we have received utmost co-operation from certain quarters, it was wanting in many respects from many other quarters.

May be, we are more optimistic than permissible. Such experiences leave behind them a lesson to be remembered. But there are friends and well-wishers without whose co-operation we could not have implemented our ideas. I feel it my privilege to recollect with utmost gratitude the co-operation we received from various quarters in making the current year's programmes a success.

I have to offer my sincere thanks to the Members of the specially constituted Silver Jubilee Celebrations Committee which under the able guidance of its Chairman, Sri Akkiraju Vasudeva Rao, has extended their whole-hearted co-operation. A special mention is needed of Sri G. L. Sanghi, whose generous attitude in many respects on many an occasion has stood by Yuvabharathi.

Our special thanks are due to Sri Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao, Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, whose elderly guidance remained a source of inspiration. Besides kindly accepting to be the Chairman of the Mahathi Advisory Committee, he had encouraged us a great deal.

Yuvabharathi is grateful to Dr. N. Ramesan, Finance Secretary, Government of Andhra Pradesh, who has presided over the Ninth anniversary celebration of Yuvabharathi on 15th October, and to Sri Gora Sastry, Editor, Andhra Bhoomi, for releasing the Free India Forges Ahead.

I also take this opportunity of thanking our Honourable Chief-Minister Sri P. V. Narasimha Rao, for having released our pride publication 'Mahathi' on 14th August, 1972. We are grateful to Dr. Bezavada Gopala Reddy, President, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi for having released the 'Chaitanyalahari' "Meet the Men of Vision", on 6th of August, 1972.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. G. V. Subrahmanyam, Chairman, Mahathi Editorial Committee, whose whole-hearted and

active co-operation was mainly responsible for the success of the projects of this year.

Yuvabharathi is grateful to the timely assistance in supplying the required quantities of good paper of the Orient Mills by M/s R.M. Trivedi & Co., in particular to Sri Trivedi and Sri Rajamani. I have also to express my gratitude to Dr. P. G. Lalye and Sri Paturi Sri Rama Sastry, for reviewing the Yuvabharathi's Kavyalahari and Chaitanyalahari lecture series.

Our thanks are due to Sri Seela Veerraju for his significant title design and to Mohan Process, the block makers, Vijayasri and Vistas Printers for their neat printing.

I take this opportunity of offering my thanks to the advertisers whose generous gesture has helped us in making the plans of our publication a success. A special mention must be made of Sri G. L. Sanghi Smt. Vasumathi Reddi, Sri V. Rajeshwara Rao, M. L. A., Sri T.S. Swami, Chief-Engineer, Panchayati Raj Department, Sri R. V. Garg, Controller of Purchases and Stores, Synthetic Drugs Plant, I. D. P. L., and Dr. Bhimsen Nirmal. I am also thankful to Sri S. Panduranga Reddy, Sri R.S. Sastry, Sri Kalyan Ram, Sri Vasudeva Rao Sri M. N. Kameshwara Rao, Sri S. N. Gupta of Kataka Advertising, Bangalore, Sri Ch. Parthasarathi and a host of others for their unstinted co-opertion.

A particular mention must be made of Sri M. Venkateshwarlu whose keen interest has contributed to the success of this publication.

I cannot close this report without expressing my grateful thanks to the contributors of Free India Forges Ahead.

We are grateful to the Government of Andhra Pradesh and to our Chief Minister Honourable Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao and our Education Minister Honourable Sri Bhattam Sreerama Murthy for having given us a grant of Rs. 5,000 for the Chaitanyalahari programme.

The activities of the current year covered a span of more than nine months and the burden of bringing three publications. I am grateful to our President Sri Iriventi Krishnamoorthy, my other

colleagues of the Cabinet and Executive and other members of Yuvabharathi, whose whole-hearted co-operation has made the event a pleasant experience.

We received the co-operation from many a quarter and it is virtually difficult to acknowledge in detail every name. I request that I may be pardoned for not being elaborate.

Yes, Yuvabharathi forges ahead. No institution can afford to be independent from the mainstream of the Nation's life. Yuvabharathi, dedicated to better intellectual discipline has selected literature and youth as the sphere of its activities. I am confident of receiving continued co-operation from the public so that we can play a constructive role in a socially useful and significant manner.

V. VISWANADHAM,
Convener and Treasurer,
YUVABHARATHI.

....

'చుట్టూరా ఆవరించుకుని వున్న
చీకటిని తిట్టుకుంటూకూర్చోవడం
కంటే, ప్రయత్నించి ఎంత చిన్న
దీపాన్నయినా వెలిగించడం మంచిది'

అన్నవాక్యమే మా యువభారతి కి ఊపిరిపోసింది



IMPORTANT EVENTS 1947-'72

1947 :

August 15 :	India becomes independent. First Congress Ministy formed with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister.
October 27 :	New Delhi announces Kashmir's accession to India.

1948 :

January 30 :	Mahatma Gandhi assasinated.
June 21 :	C. Rajagopalachari sworn in as the first Indian Governor-General.
September 13 :	Hyderabad Police action starts.
September 17 :	Hyderabad forces surrender.
December 31 :	Agreements with Pakistan on cease-fire in Kashmir.

1949 :

January 15 :	General K.M. Cariappa takes over as first Indian Chief of Army Staff.
October 15 :	Integration of princely states completed.
November 26 :	The Constitution of the Republic of India adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

1950 :

January 26 :	The constitution comes into force. Dr. Rajendra Prasad elected First President.
February 28 :	Planning Commission constituted.
December 15 :	Sardar Vallabhai Patel dies.

1951 :

February 2 :	France and India sign treaty ceding to India the former French settlement of Chandernagore.
October 25 :	First General Elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies begin (valid votes polled : Congress 44.99 percent. Jan Sangh 3.06 per cent., CPI 3.29 percent, S. P. 10.23 percent).

1952 :

May 12 : First session of newly elected Parliament begins.

December 8 : The final draft of the first five year plan covering the period 1951–56 presented. Total outlay of Rs. 2069 crores envisaged.

December 16 : Potti Sriramulu dies after fasting for separate Telugu State.

1953 :

July 1 : Tungabhadra water released for irrigation:

August 8 : Sheik Abdullah dissmissed from the Chief Ministership of Jammu and Kashmir and arrested. Bakshi Gulam Mohammed replaces him.

August 29 : The President gives an assurance that Hindi will not be imposed on the south.

October 1 : Andhra Pradesh – the first state established on a purely linguistic basis – inaugurated.

December 21 : Government signs agreements with West German firm to set up a steel plant (at Rourkela).

1954 :

March 11: Mr. Nehru rejects president Eiselsower's offer of military aid to India.

June 28: Mr. Nehru and Mr, Chou-En-Lai approved a joint statement individually laying down five principles (Panchsheel) to guide India—China Relations.

1955 :

January 21: The 60th session of Indian National Congress Meeting at Avadi (Madras) adopts economy resolution committing the party to a "Socialistic pattern of society".

February 8: Representatives of India and the U. S. S. R. assign agreement for the construction of a million-ton steel plant at Bhilai.

1956 :

January 19: Union Government takes over life Insurance Business as prelude to Nationalisation.

April 30 : New Industrial Policy Resolution adopted by the Parliament, earmarking spheres for private and public sectors.

May 15 : The draft of the Second Five Year Plan envisaging an outlay of Rs. 4800 crores is presented to Parliament.

August 4 : India's first Atomic Reactor goes into operation in Bombay.

November 1 : The reorganisation of Indian states on a linguistic basis comes into force. The country is divided 14 states and 6 centrally administered territories.

1957 :

February 24 : Second General Elections begin. (Valid votes polled : Congress 47.78 per cent, Janasangh 5.93 per cent, C. P. I. 8.92 per cent and P. S. P. 10.41 per cent).

April 1 : Decimal system of coinage introduced.

April 15 : Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad sworn - in as Chief-Minister of Kerala, the first state to return a communist Government.

1958 :

October 1 : The metric system of weights and measures introduced.

1959 :

July 31 : The President dismissed the Namboodiripad ministry in Kerala.

1960 :

September 19 : Mr. Nehru and President Ayub Khan signed the Indus waters treaty.

1961 :

June 1 : Third Five Year Plan presented with an outlay of Rs, 12,100 crores.

June 24 : The first Indian Transonic Fighter, HF–24, makes its inaugural flight.

December 19: The Prime-Minister announces the liberation of Goa.

1962 :

February 16:	Third General Elections begin (valid votes polled: Congress 42.72 per cent, Swatantra 7.89 per cent, Jan Sangh 6.44 per cent, C. P. I. 9.94 per cent, S, S. P. 2.69 per cent and P. S. P. 6.81 per cent).

1963 :

February 21:	Dr. Rajendra Prasad dies.
April 27:	Lok Sabha passes Bill to extend the use of English for official purposes.
August 24:	6 Central Ministers and Chief Ministers in six states resign under the Kamraj Plan.
November 21:	First two stage Rockets launched at Thumba.

1964 :

May 8:	Agreement signed with an American firm to build Atomic power plant at Tarapur.
May 27:	Jawaharlal Nehru dies.
September 8:	Split in Indian Communist Party. C. P. I. (Marxist) separates from C. P. I.

1965 :

January 26:	Hindi replaces English as the official language of the Union. The official languages Act, (1963) however provides that English to be used for official purposes in addition to Hindi.
April 9:	Fighting between Indian and Pakistan forces breaks out in Rann of Kutch.
September 23:	Cease-fire between India and Pakistan comes into force in response to a security council resolution.

1966 :

January 10:	Tashkent declaration signed by President Ayubkhan and Prime-Minister Sastri.
January 11:	Lal Bahadur Sastri dies in Tashkent.
January 24:	Mrs. Indira Gandhi sworn in as Prime-Minister.
June 5:	Government of India announces decision to devalue the rupee by 36.12 per cent.

1964 :

January 4 :	Hindustan Aeronautics, Nasik, begin delivery of MIG fighters to I. A. F.
January 18 :	Goa opts to remain a Union Territory.
March 2 :	First reports of violent uprising in Naxalbari.
March 6 :	First D.M.K. Ministry headed by Mr. C. N. Anna-durai sworn-in Tamil Nad.

1968 :

June 8 :	First inshore mine-sweeper built at Mazagaon dock commissioned.
July 8 :	Indian Navy acquires first submarine from USSR.

1969 :

May 1 :	Power flows from the Tarapur Atomic plant.
May 3 :	Dr. Zakir Hussain dies.
August 20 :	Mr. V. V. Giri elected President.
October 1 :	Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan arrives in India after 23 years to take part in Gandhi Centenary Celebrations
November 22 & 23 :	A special session of the AICC convened by Mrs. Gandhi's supporters remove Mr. Nijalingappa from the party presidency.

1970 :

March 24 :	Fourth Five Year Plan–Revised outlay for 1969–74 of Rs. 24,882 crores approved.

1971 :

March 1 :	General Elections to the Lok Sabha start (valid votes polled : Congress (R) 43.64 per cent, Cong-ress (0) 10.56 per cent, Swatantra 3.08 per cent, Jan Sangh 7.48 per cent CPI 4.89 per cent, SSP 2.43 percent, CPM 4.97 per cent and PSP 0.98 per cent).
March 31 :	Parliament adopts resolution pledging "whole hearted sympathy and support" for struggle waged by people of East Bengal.
August 9 :	USSR and India sign a Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation for 20 years, in New Delhi.

December 2:	Lok Sabha passed the constitution (26th amendment) Bill abolishing the privileges and privy purses of former princes.
December 3:	Pakistan attacks India. Indian Troops enter and over-run East Bengal in collaboration with the Mukti Bahini.
December 6:	India recognises Bangala Desh.
December 16:	Gen. Niazi in command of 89,00, regular and para-military Pakistani forces in Bangladesh, signs Instrument of unconditional surrender in Daca.
December 17:	India orders unilateral cease-fire on the western front.

1972 :

March 12:	India withdraws troops from Bangladesh.
March 19:	Mrs. Gandhi and Shaik Mujib sign a Treaty of friendship, co-operation and peace.
July 3:	Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Bhutto sign the Simla agreement.

★

"It is not surprising that the Indian intelligentsia in the nineteenth century should have succumbed to British ideology; what is surprising is that some people should continue to suffer that delusion even after the stirring events and changes of the twentieth century."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

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CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

V. V. G I R I
PRESIDENT OF INDIA

Some of the more important problems which concern Centre-State relations and relations between one state and another are :

1. Distribution and sharing of financial resources, keeping in view the necessity for integrated, planned and even development of the different regions in the country and the removal of regional imbalances with particular emphasis on removal of unemployment and ending social inequalities.

2. Equitable distribution of essential commodities in all the states and an even flow of trade, commerce and industry through out the Union, and measures therefor.

3. Sharing of waters of inter state rivers and river valleys, and methods for effecting quick and prompt settlement of disputes, if any, relating thereto, the emphasis being the common good of the wider community and not in terms of rights of control or distribution.

The concept of a homogeneous Union, which is the basis of our constitution, has to be the governing consideration in any discussion of Union-state relations or inter-state problems. These should not be allowed to degenerate into conflicts between rival parties and competing ideologies. Our constitution makes provision for the necessary machinery and lays down principles and procedures for a fair and equitable distribution of resources between the Union and may be in need of assistance. While the states have the principal responsibility for the social services, the Union has the responsibility for defence, border security, communications, railways, and basic and key industries – to mention some – and for the overall economic growth of the country. And, it is in this background that some of the principal sources of revenue have been allocated to the centre. But keeping in the fore-front the stability and prosperity of India as a whole state Governments must consider it their duty

to raise more revenues from all the sources available to them and manage their finances with care and prudence.

The five year plans, which form the basis of our development programmes, are intended to be implemented with the fullest co-operation and the widest possible agreement among the states. It is from this point of view that personally I have been an advocate of planning starting from the bottom, i.e., the State level, and then building upward. About ten years ago I had suggested that there should be set up a Planning Board for every state, I started this in Kerala and Mysore. I am glad that there is growing realisation of this now, and such Boards have been set up or are being set up in other States. The States' participation in the formulation of plan progrommes must be made more meaningful. In bringing about the social change in the country and a purposeful evolution of steady social progress, it is the states who concomitantly with the Centre will carry out the objectives enshrined in the Preamble and the Directive principles of our Constitution.

I share the impatience of some that we have to impart a greater sense of realism and practical applicability in the implementation of plan programmes. We have also to take care to see that planning does not tend to be more and more bureaucratic. We cannot achieve results merely by appointing more study teams or producting more reports. While such studies and reports almost invariably lead to a proliferation of the secretariat, the results in terms of real achievement are seldom commensurate with the time and effort spent. Regional imbalances and regional disparities cannot be corrected unless we go to the root cause of our economic and social ills. A vast country like India, whose economy derives its strength primarily from its land resources, must give top most priority to reconstructing the rural community. Pilot projects in the field of agriculture, through land colonization programmes, agro-industries and other cottage industries should form an essential part of building up a prosperous India.

The mission of India is essentially bound up with the welfare of the vast millons that inhabit this great country. To be an active participant in this mission is an opportunity to everyone of us.

CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

G. S. PATHAK
VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

For several years past the subject of Centre-state relationship has been engaging the earnest attention of Jurists, legislators, political scientists and a number of organisations, notably the Institute of constitutional and Parliamentary studies, the Indian Law Institute, the Institute of Public Administration, the Indian Parliamentary Association and the Indian Institute of Advanced Study. There have been conventions, seminars and symposia in which learned papers were read and important speeches made, some of these bodies have published the result of their deliberations and the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies has also dovoted one special number of its journal to this topic. Recently we have, in the shape of the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission and the Rajamannar Committee, important documents on the subject. In addition to all this, articles have been appearing in the Press from time to time. We have, thus. a voluminous material, almost exhausting the points that emerged and also the views expressed, pro and contra, on those points. That it was considered necessary for these three institutions of Hyderabad to organise this seminar underscores the importance of the subject. It also shows the heartening aspect of our democratic life, namely, that there is always public discussion on all important matters, in which academies and persons in public life also participate in addition to those who are directly concerned. I am sure all this material will prove useful to the participants in this seminar. There may, of course, be new points not already covered and I have no doubt that this seminar will throw fresh light on the subject as a whole.

At the outset, it would perhaps be appropriate to recall the background in which our Constitution was framed. When the partition of 1947 was finally announced, the reaction of Indian leaders was immediate and they unanimously favoured a strong Central Government. Pakistan attacked us thrice. The present situation created

by the continuing influx into our territory of Pakistani nationals has created for us social and economic problems of vast magnitude and also constitutes at hreat to peace. Among the farmers of the Constitution were great leaders, eminent jurists, reputed statesmen and learned political scientists and others, who had devoted their whole life in the service of the nation. They were all patriotic people, zealous and determined to see that India after independence must be a strong and united nation capable of weathering all storms. Uppermost in their minds was the fact that the history of the country disclosed fissiparous tendencies and divisive factors. They were also apprehensive of external attack. It was also felt that a strong Central Government would command respect from the nations of the world. Throughout the proceedings of the constituent Assembly the idea persisted that 'the unity of the nation', which is mentioned as one of the national idals in the Preamble of the Constitution, must be secured and this could be done only by adopting a federal structure with a strong centre, The integrity of the country. vast in area and with a large population, could not otherwise be assured. It is significant that at the conclusion of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad referred to the fissiparous tendencies in the various elements of the country's life—communal differences, cast differences, provincial differences and so forth. He fouud it appropriate to close the proceedings with the prayer that the country may be given men of strong character, men of vision, men who would not sacrifice the interests of the country, by and large, for the sake of smaller groups and areas and who would rise above the prejudices born of these differences,

When Dr. Ambedkar said that the use of the word "Union" in the Constitution was deliberate, he had in mind the American history. In the course of his speech in the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar observed, "The Drafting Committee wanted to make it clear that though India was to be a federation, the federation was not the result of an agreement by the States to join in federation, and that the federation not being the result of an agreement, no state has right to secede from it. The Federation is a Union because it is indestructible". He continued. "Though the country and the people may be divided into different States for convenience of administration, the country is one integrol whole, its people a single people, living under a single imperium, derived from a single

source..." It is also worth remembering that the provinces which became States under the Federation were mere administrative units and no sovereign entities. No doubt, under the Constitution, the States enjoy supremacy within their spheres, subject to the limits and conditions imposed by the Constitution. The territories of the States, however, are the territories over which the Union of laws operate. There is single citizenship for the whole country.

Our Constitution makers adopted what is known as the co-operative system of federalism. The chief characteristics of this system are inter–dependence between the Union and the component parts and also the practice of administrative co-operation between the Union and the component parts and also the practice of administrative co-operation between the Union and the State Governments and the partial financial dependence of the latter on the former. The relationship between the Centre and the States under this system is a deliberately balanced one, Co-operation is its very foundation. Co-operation, indeed, is an indisputable instrument. In the working of the federal system. Speaking about the Australian Federation, Justice Starke of the Australian Supreme Court stated the basic truth applicable to our federation also; "Co-operation on the part of the Commonwealth (of Australia) and the States may well achieve objects that neither alone could achieve; that is often the end and the advantage of cooperation". India had to develop as one single economic and social structure. To regulate the social and economic development of the country, planning of the activities are invitably co-ordinated and inter-related. It is important to remember that 'economic and social planning' is to be found in the Concurrent List. It is obvious that upon co-operation between the Centre and the States and the constructive exercise of powers and the carrying out of the obligations under the Constitution, depends the success of our planning, the maintenance of internal order and the preservation of external security.

Since 1950, many events have occurred which have a direct or indirect bearing on Centre-State relationship. The States were re-organised under the States Re-organisation Act, 1956. Thereafter claims were made on behalf of a number of regions that they might be constituted into new States. A notable example was the re-organisation of Punjab. Himachal Pradesh, an erstwhile Union territory, became a full-fledged State. In course of time. Governments

having different political complexions, programmes and policies from the Government as the Centre came into being, but this eventuality was within the contemplation of the Constitution makers. The Governor's office assumed a new importance. Quite often the President had to take over the Government of certain States and delegate his powers to the Governor. As the Head of the State the Governor had to exercise his powers in relation to the appointment of the Council of Ministers and the summoning and dissolution of the Houses in circumstances generating acute controversies and strong emotions. In some region, language issues were also raised. Boundary disputes between certain States arose, some of them still remain unresolved. Disputes regarding river waters became acute and litigation is pending in the Supreme Court. In certain areas law and order problems became serious. Apart from the cases of floods and droughts and similar unforeseen calamities there have been growing financial demands by the states on the Centre.

In this background it was natural that questions should arise regarding the rights, duties and powers of the States vis-a-vis the Centre and the rights, duties, and powers of the Centre Vis-a-vis the states. Constitutional machinery now is in full play, and its various parts have been subject to real tests. This led in some cases to a re-examination of the constitutional set-up. Questions began, to be asked: Has the Constitution met the challenges presented by the problems which arose in the course of its working? Can the difficulties experienced be resolved by mutual adjustments of an administrative character, and so on and so forth.

This relationship between the Centre and the States covers a wide range and embraces a very large part of the functions and activities in the administrative, social and economic fields. This relationship became the subject of investigation by the Administrative Reforms Commission. That Commission, before examining the issues regarding this relationship, first appointed a strong team headed by Shri M. C. Setalvad, to study all matters relating to Centre-State relations. On the basis of the report of this team, the Administrative Reforms Commission submitted its own report on the 19th June, 1969, to the Government on the subject. Referring to the controversies which had arisen between the Centre and the States, the Commission observed: "but these controversies pertain mostly to matters administrative and financial

and not to constitutional issues. Eminent leaders of various political parties who appeared before the Commission emphasised their faith in the Indian unity, though they argued for more autonomy and initiative for the States. We, therefore, do not think it necessary to suggest any amendments to the Constitution. We have, however, made racommendations to the delegation of more financial and ad ministrative functions and powers to the States with the twin objectives of making the relations between the Centre and the States smoother and introducing efficiency and economy in the administration of the Union and State Governments. It is not in the amendment of the Constitution that the solution of the problems of the Centre—State relationship is to be sought, but in the working of the provisions of the Constitution by all concerned in the balanced spirit in which the founding-fathers intended them to be worked. I need not detail the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission which must be well-known to you all.

On the 22nd September, 1969, the Tamil Nadu Government constituted a Committee consisting of Dr. Rajamannar, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and P. Chandra Reddy to examine the entire question regarding the relationship that should subsist between the Centre and the States in a federal set-up and to suggest suitable amendments to the Constitution so as to secure to the States utmost autonomy. The report of this Committee has been considered by, and is still under the consideration of, individuals and bodies interested in the question. The reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission and of the Rajamannar Committee have received wide attention. There has also been critical examination in the Press. The point worthy of note is that while the Administrative Reforms Commission reported that no amendment of the Constitution was necessary, the report of the Rajamannar Committee has recommended, among other things, quite a number of constitutional amendment.

Controversies between the States INTER SE, and between the Centre and States are normal in countries governed by federal Constitution. It is common knowledge that our Constitution-makers had before them the federal constitutions of the world and they were well aware of the costitutional history of many countries and the problems that had arisen there concerning the Centre-State

relationship. They were conscious of the fact that such controversies were likely to arise in India and for this reason they made elaborate provisions for the resolution of disputes between the Centre and the States and the States INTER SE. As a measure for securing 'co-ordination between States'—that is the heading of Article 263—the establishment of an inter-State Council was provided. The duties of such Council are specifically enumerated. They are :

(a) to inquire into and advice upon disputes, which may have arisen between States :

(b) to investigate and discuss subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest ; or

(c) making recommendations upon any subject (that is a subject in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more the States, have a common interest) and, in particular. recommendations for the better co-ordination of policy and action with respect to that subject.

It is clear that the duties with which the inter-State Council under the Constitution can be charged are limited, They are advisory in the case of inter-State disputes and recommendatory in the case of subjects having a common interest. It will be a question of some importance whether any function not specified in Artile 263 can be assigned to an inter-State Council when established.

The Constitution has taken care of the disputes relating to waters of rivers in Article 262. In pursuance of the powers conferred by that article Farliament has enacted a law which is in in operation. Further, the constitution has conferred original jurisdiction on the Supreme Court in disputes between the Centre and one or more States or between the Centre and any State or States on one side, and one or more other States on the other or between two or more States (Article 131). Then there is the power of the President to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court on any question of law or fact. In cases of disputes it is natural that it is in the interest of the parties concerned—and they would also prefer—to have the disputes settled by mutual discus-

sion. That is the very essence of democratic life. With mutual goodwill and a spirit of accommodation, probably many such problems and disputes could be resolved. If mutual discussions fail, resort could be had to the remedies provided in the Constitution.

As regards the legislative lists, it is well-known that the practice of having three lists, the Union, State and Concurrent, had come into vogue in federal constitutions before our Constitution was framed. The only question then could be whether the view of the Administrative Reforms Commission and others—that no change in the provisions of the Constitution governing the distribution of subjects between the Centre and the States is necessary—is correct, or re-distribution is required and if so, to what extent? The Administrative Reforms Commission had noted that the representatives of various parties and interests with whom they and the Student had discussions were in agreement on the point that re-distribution of the subject in the lists was not necessary. In the Constituent Assembly there were those, among whom was Mr. Santhanam, who wanted to give lesser powers to the Centre, there were others like Mr. Frank Anthony who urged giving the maximum possible powers to the Centre in the interest of the integrity and cohesion of the nation. In particular. Mr. Anthony wanted to see that education and health were brought under the control of the Centre and at least some measure of control over Police Services throughout the country was brought. The Constituent Assembly appears to have taken the view that the quantum of autonomy that was being conferred on the States was just and correct, consistently with securing of unity and integrity of the country.

Questions have also been mooted in regard to the administrative relations between the Centre and the States. In this connnction, it is necessary to bear in mind that, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Parliament has got the power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India. It follows that the Centre will also have its own agencies, personnel and property in the territories of the States. There are branches of incom-Tax Department, Defence installations, Customs offices, public undertaking and many other offices belonging to the Centre, functioning in the territories of the States. It is a general principle of law that every power carried with it the power to do all Acts incidental and necessary in order to effectuate the object, for which the original power was

given. To have the power to make laws for the State territories and to execute them and to establish its agencies there; but not to have the power to take measures to protect such agencies would amount to stultification of the original power. The question assumes importance in cases where the State Government might not, or might be unable to give adequate protection to the personnel and the properties of the Central Government in the State territory. Articles 256, 257, 258 and 258–A and 365 are based upon the principle of co-operation which should subsist between the Centre and the States. Article 256 requires, that the executive power of every State shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament, and the executive power of the Union shall extend to giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for the purpose. This is a positive injunction on the State. Negatively, Article, 257 requires that the executive power of every State shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union and in this case also the executive power of the Union extends to the giving of all necessary directions. A question may be raised as to why the power to issue directions is given to the Government of India. The purpose underlying these two Articles is related to the laws made by Parliament and the executive power of the Union, and the Government of Indla would be in the best position to judge what is necessary to carry out that purpose. For this reason it appears that the Constitution has given power to the Centre to issue directions to carry out the purpose.

Another measure of co-operation is furnished by Article 258(1) which empowers the President, with the consent of the Government of a State, to entrust to that Govt. functions in relation to any matter to which the executive power of the Union extends. Conversely, the Governor of State is empowered by Article 258–A with the consent of the Government of India, to entrust to that Government functions in relation to any matter, to whlch the executive power of that State extends. It may be observed that consent of the State Government does not appear to be necessary, where a law made by parliament confers powers and imposes duties upon the State and its affices, What would happen in case the State Government refuses co-operation to the Centre and disregards the

directions given in any matter authorised by the Constitution? Article 365 provides the answer. It lays down that in case the State fails to comply with, or to give effect to, any directions given in the exercise of the executive power of the Union under the provisions of this Constitution, it shall be lawful for the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution. Article 355 imposes a duty on the Union to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, This is in addition to its duty imposed by the said Article to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance. Dr. Ambedkar stated in the Constituent Assembly that Article 365 was consequential and, not to give this power to the President, was practically negativing the directions which the Central Government was empowered to give. The ultimate sanction is incorporated in Article 356 which gives power to the President to issue emergency proclamation where the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the Constitution.

The duty imposed by Article 355 in all the three respects, viz., protection against external aggression, protection against internal disturbance and ensuring that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, is an obligation imposed in the Centre in the interest and for the benefit of the people residing in the State also, That appears to be the intention of the framers of the Constitution in enacting the above provisions, Where the Government of the State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. no difficulty would arise and Article 365 would not come into play. For the retention of the emergency provisions contained in Article 356, Dr. Alladi very strongly supported Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Alladi said that if responsible government functioned properly, the Centre would not, and could not, interfere. This provision, according to him, is bulwark in favour of the provincial or State autonomy because the primary obligation is cast upon the Union to see that the Constition is maintained.

While considering the various issues in connection with Centre—State relationship and the powers of the Central Government created by the Constitution, it has to be remembered that the

Central Government is responsible to Parliament. The House of the People represents the people of all States and the Council of States represents all the States. Actions of theGovernment in all States are subjected to criticism in both the Houses of Parliament and whatever power is exercised by the Central Goverment whether in connection with Article 256, 257 or 356, they have to be justified before Parliament. I have been associated with Parliament since 1960, with the exception of short period and I think it is a tribute to our Parliament that it exercises effective check and supervision over the actions of the Central Government.

Governor's powers have been the subject of discussion for several years past and I have spoken on the subject on a number of occasions. Briefly, the poision appears to be this : The Governor who is a link between the Centre and the State, fills a dual role. Firscly, he is the constitutional authority charged with the duty of seeing that the Government of tha State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This obligation is imposed on him by his oath whereby he is required to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and also by the fact that he owes a duty to report to the President under Article 356 if the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the constitution. His second role is that of the Head of the State,

A view is very often expressed that guide lines should be given to the Governor for the efficient discharge of his duties and for bringing uniformity of actiod in like situations. It may be remembered that in the constituent Assembly, Dr, Ambedkar had first moved that provision should be made in the constitution for giving instructions both to the President and to the Governors. Later, on further consideration, he strongly took the view that a provision for the issue of instruction to both the President and the Governors should be omitted from the Constitution. While withdrawing the proposal to incorporate the instrument of instructions for the Governor, Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that the instrument was useless because there was no functionary who could see that the inctrument of instructions was carried out by the Governor. Dr. Ambedkar appears to have admitted that the provisions of the instrument of instructions were, strictly speaking. not enforceable, justiciable. A proposal by a Member was that they may be courts to interfere in the

affairs of Parliament and thus the system of checks and balances would be upset. It is fair to deduce that Dr. Ambedkar and the Members of the Drafting Committee came to the conclusion that the written provisions of a non-justiciable instrument of instructions and tacit conventions of a Cabinet Government, had equal value. The proposal to issue the instrument of instructions and to incorporate it in the Constitution was exhaustively considered by the Constituent Assembly and was rejected by it. For giving authoritative guide lines to the Governors, a power in the Constitution will have to be discovered and there is no such power. Moreover, no instrument of instructions can be exhaustive, as circumstances not anticipated and not provided for in the instrument may arise. In this situation, would it not be better that the Governors themselves may lay the guide lines to be followed by them and conventions in this respect may be allowed to grow ?

I wish to say a few words on the Governor's role on one more aspect. Sometimes, it has been said that even while acting as Chancellor of a university, the Governor is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Chancellor derives his powers from, and exercises his functions under, the statute creating the office of the Chancellor and it is the duty of the Chancellor to act in accordance with the provisions of the statue. Some of the functions are of a quasi-judicial character and Chancellor, for that reason, has to exercise his own judgment. Such functions therefore cannot be expected to be discharged according to the advice of an outside body. Sometimes the Chancellor has to decide particular matters on the spot, for example, when he is presiding over the Senate in cases where he is authorised by the Act to so preside. In such cases the taking of advice from a body outside the university would be impracticable. The Chancellor's functions and powers depend on, and are derived from, the statue, creating the university and the office of the Chancellor, and they have to be in accord with the terms of each particular statute establishing the University. The fact that the Governor is ex-officio Chancellor is a mere method of appointment to the office of Chancellor. He is a Chancellor because he is a Governor. The Governor derives his powers and functions from the Constitution which does not authorise any State Legislature to confer on him any power in his capacity as Governor, and the

university Acts are ordinarily State enactments. Any other view would take away the autonomy of the universities which will function–if that view be correct–as a department of the Government These are the various considerations which the Seminar may take into account, while dealing with the Governor's role when appointed a Chancellor.

I have dealt with only some of the problems in contection with Centre-State relationships. I have avoided, as far as possible giving my own views on these problems, although at places, I had to give my interpretation of the Constitution. I am sure that the Seminar will exhaustively examine various issues relating to the subject in depth. The Seminar will, I have no doubt, bear in mind the problems of law and order and other problems connected with internal security and external aggression; They are inescapable facts of life. I am mentioning this because no issue, much less the issue of Centre–State relations, can be examined in isolation.

What should be the approach to the solution of the problems arising in connection with the Centre–State relations ? I lay the greatest emphasis on mutual consultations between the Central Government and the State Governments, even at the risk of the perspective of general considerations regarding the unity of the nation and the security of the country. While considering the question of whether there are any defects in the Constitution, it is important first to examine the reasons behind the constitutional provisions made in the Constitution and then to see whether those reasons still hold good, and further to examine whether the fault lies in the constitutional provisions or in the defective implementation of them. We must not forget that our Constitution has been formed and others are in the course of formation. I am of the opinion that Constitution, by and large, has worked very well.

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FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

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History has been a tale of great atrocities and greater sacrifices. Ancient and medieval history is replete with gruesome acts of soulless tyrants and with the counter-balancing resplendent deeds of selfless immorals. The modern world has produced a sophisticated form of brutality. The atrocities committed by the earlier tyrants paled into insignificance before those of modern ones. Crude methods of destruction were replaced by scientific ones. While the earlier tyrants destroyed body and plundered property, the modern counterparts attempted to distroy the body, mind and soul of humanity. By means of mass media, torture and espionage, the modern tyrants tried to condition the minds of the people and made them plead guilty to the crimes they never committed. On the other side of the picture we had great souls, who sacrificed their all and even their lives in order that humanity might live in freedom. The unprecedented holocast of life disturbed the decent human mind.

After the second world war, a sincere attempt was made to preserve and protect the rights of the people through world institutions. The result was the formation of the United Nations Organisation and the issuance of the Charter of human rights. India was also a signatory to that Charter. Pursuant to the directions given in the Charter that every nation should protect the said rights in the respective countries, India in framing the constitution has declared the fundamental rights and provided effective judicial machinery to enforce them. India was particularly anxious to do so because of its past history for over a thousand years-whether it was under the Hindu rule or Mohammadan rule or British rule, people of India never enjoyed these freedoms. Some of the members of the constituent Assembly, who were eminent men belonging to different walks of life, who knew the past history of our country and had a glorious vision of its future, framed it with two objectives ; one is to usher a new social order, where there will be justice, (political, social and

economic) and the other to prevent autocracy raising its ugly head so that the freedoms of the people......political, social and economic......are preserved and protected through the democratic processes and the rule of Law.

The classical definition of Rule of Lord that is an external rule of conduct enforciable by an independent sovereign authority. Originally the concern of the rule of law was cnly to maintain Law and Order; but during the 17th and 18th centuries a new concept of liberty was added to it. Law had to preserve and promote liberty during the nineteenth century. It was enriched by the addition of the material wants and desires envolved in life in a civilised society. All the citizens should share equitably the material goods of l ife. During 20th century it was further strengthened by the inclusion of the idea of the security. It was a security from want, fear and frustration. In the process of evolution over the centuries the Rule of Law has within its sweep taken the concepts of law and order, liberty, equality and security. The Indian constitution has accepted this high content of law. Briefly stated, the ingredients of Rule of Law, under the constitution are these:—

"Every man is equal before law. All institutions and authorities are bound to act in terms of the law.

Law maintains the balance between authority and freedom, and between freedoms and social justice. It is a potent instrument of socio-economic justice.

No authority can interfere with the rights of the people without authority of law".

There are ideals of a service state. There are two pathways leading to the service state one accepting the rule of law and the other destroying it i.e., the authoritarian path. The one maintains the liberty of the individuals subject to social control and the other exalts the politically organised society to the position of an absolute rule. The constitution of India adopted the humanitarian path to reach its desired goal. This high idea of law is projected in part III and IV of the Indian constitution. Part III and IV represent the core of the Indian constitutional philosophy, Part III enshrines the fundamental rights and Part IV declares the Directive Principles. Both

are fundamental for the governance of the country. Both constitute an integrated scheme and by their interaction through the process of judicial adjustment, the State was directed to bring about a new social order, where there will be justice, political, social and economic.

There is an uniformed criticism in regard to Fundamental Rights: It runs thus :-

1. The Constitution declared rights, but not duties;

2. It provided for civil and political rights, but not for social and economic rights;

3. Fundamental rights, are the richman's rights, but not for the poor.

4. They are absolute rights. i.e, the Parliament of the legislatures as the case may be, have no power to restrict them.

5. The rights obstruct the socio-economic progress of our country.

6. The judgment of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case was in favour of the rich and was an obstacle to the progress of our country.

The following are the Fundamental Rights:-

1. Right to Equality;

2. Right to the seven freedoms-viz. the right:

   (a) to freedom of speech and expression;

   (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms;

   (c) to form associations of unions;

   (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;

   (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;

   (f) to scquire. hold and dispose of property; and

   (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation. trade or business (Act 19).

3. Right to life and personal liberty;
4. Right to freedom of religion;
5. Right against exploitation;
6 Cultural and Educational rights;
7. Right to property;
8. Right to constitutional remedies.

A bare perusal of these rights indicates that they are not wholly civil and political rights, but they include therein social, economic and cultural rights. To Equality, cultural and social rights. the right to freedom of conscience and the right against exploitation are not mere civil rights but equally fall under th category of social cultural and economic rights. That apart, as I will indicate later, a combined effect of Part III and Part IV would show that the Constitution provided for all the said categories of right.

Nor is there any justification for the comment that the fundamental rights are the rich man's rights. A glance at the said provisions convinces any honest mind that they are rights of all men. It is suggested that the right to property is a rich man's right. By constant repetition, it has become a conviction in an uninformed mind that, in our constitution, the right to property has become entrenched, that it obstructs the economic progress of the society. A careful analysis of this right dispels any such misconception.

Property was a general term of extensive application. It was indicative or descriptive of every possible interest which a man can have. It was extended to all recognized types of interests which would have the characteristics of property. Property was classified as moveable and immoveable, eorporeal and incorporeal real, and personal. It might mean a thing or a right, which a person would have in relation to that thing. The expression in the Indian Constitution was given this wide meaning.

Ownership ceased to be what it was. Originally it coincided with personal work. Its unity has broken up into interest, rent, profit, dividends, service, etc. It has also given rise to complimentary legal concepts, loan, lease, hire, partnership, corporation, contract, etc. By this process, the owner acquired power over

others, This power enabled him to exploit the weaker sections of the community and to concentrate wealth in his hands. It has become, therefore, necessary to regulate this power, in the interests of public and particularly the weaker sections of the Community. In short, the institution of private law has been transformed to that of public law. The real problem, facing modern India, is not so much as to preserve the unlimited right to property, but while maintaining the substratum of the individual right and its stability, to regulate the use of it in public interest. Indeed, the recognition of freedom of property as a basic right would still be generally considered as a principle of democracy, though it would be conditioned by social duties towards the community.

A distinction is sought to be made between a fundamental right to property and a right to property. Political power seeks to abolish the former but retain the latter. To put it in other words, it seeks to substitute the fundamental right with a statutory right. Once gullibility, ignorance, and selfishness fall a prey to this strategem, the next inevitable step will be to abolish the statutory right, Both the haves and have nots, who swallow the bait one to preserve their right thereby for the time being, and the other to secure one for themselves, finally find themselves, in the common camp of have-nots, for the process, the State becomes the owner of all properties. This process imperceptably changes private property into State property by putting one class of citizines against the other and finally depriving all of them altogether.

The fundamental right to property is confused to be the right to property of a rich man. Taking the landed property, most of the owners possess between 2 to 5 acres. The income therefrom will not be more than what a peon or a Lower Division Clerk gets in a Government office. Even in the commercial classes, most of the businessmen do small business and eke out their precarious existence. The expression property takes in the small property of a common man such as the small extent of land he cultivates, the petty business he carries on, the modest house he builds, the furniture he gathers, the jewel he makes for his wife, the small amount he puts in the savings Bank, the cattle he purchases etc. All this is property and every one who owns a small bit of property, moveable or immoveable, seeks a right to acquire, hold and dispose of it.

Without that right he will be at the mercy of the employer whether private or public.

A poor man works to earn for livelihood and to acquire property. Having acquired property he seeks to preserve it, for the security of his family. Even a man, who grabs other's property, seeks to preserve his possessory right against another. The right to property is not only an incentive to work but also the basis for freedoms. A worker without the said right will be a slave, and it does not make any difference to him whether the master is a private landlord or employer of a State bureaucracy. A study of the conditions of labour in a advanced democracies indicate that a labourer there has a right to property and because of property he has security, freedom and self-respect. It is therefore clear that however small the extent may be, whatever shape it may take, a right to property gives a 'standing' upon which people can base their personal decision and a 'sphere' within which they can exercise the powers and faculties of freemen. This realization has forced some of the communist countries to recognize property in a limited sense so long as it does not control the instrument of production. It is true that there are few persons with extensive properties and large businesses. They may be in a position to exploit others, but there are provisions of the constitution which enable the state to prevent concentration of wealth and to curb exploitation. The present constitutional position of the right to property may be briefly stated thus :

1. Every citizen has a fundamental right to acquire, hold and dispose property.

2. The state can make a law imposing reasonable restrictions on tne said right in public interest. The said restrictions, under certain circumstances, may amount even to deprivation of the said right.

3. Whether a restriction imposed by law on a fundamental right is reasonable and in public interest or not is a justiciable issue;

4. The State can by law, deprive a person of his property if the said law of deprivation amounts to reasonable restriction in public interests with the meaning of Article 19(5).

5. The State can acquire or requisition the property of a person for a public purpose after paying compensation.

6. The adequacy of the compensation is not justiciable.

7. If the compensation fixed by law is illusory or is contrary to the principles relevant to the fixation of compensation, it will be a fraud on power and therefore the validity of such a law becomes justiciable ;

8. Laws of agrarian reforms depriving or restricting the rights in an "estate"—the said expression has been defined to include practically every agricultural land in a village — cannot be questioned on the ground that they have infringed fundamental rights.

9. The state has ample powers to impose taxes on all types of property and incomes.

The result is that in India, the State has ample power to make laws to bring about all agrarian reforms unhampered by fundamental rights. The State has now become the final authority in the shaping of land tenures. In exercise of that power, many far-reaching agrarian reforms were introduced with a view to rationalise the rural economy of our country, and to encourage production. Briefly stated, the reforms were as fallow:

(1) Intermediaries were abolished ;

(2) Ceiling were fixed on land holdings ;

(3) The cultivating tenant within the ceiling secured permanent rights.

(4) In some States, the shares of landlords and tenants had been regulated by law ;

(3) In one state, the tiller of the soil secured cultivating rights against the absentee landlord ;

(6) In some states, the rural economy was replanned in such a way that the scattered bits of land of each tenant were consolidated in one piece by a process of statutory exchange.

Though the said reforms carried out the directive principles of the State policy, all of them have not been effected in all the States and those effected have introduced many anomolies and injustices. Instability and fluidity in agricultural economy keeps every one in suspense and not sure of his future. With the result no

one takes a real interest and everyone shifts the blame of failure on to the other, This psychological aspect of agricultural production was best reflected in the conversation I had with an old ryot some years ago. He said: "I own ten acres of wet land. I have been working hard all these years to make my land fertile, to cultivate it intensively. to eke out my livelihood and to save some money for purchasing other land, so that I may pass it on to my son, But now I do not know what will happen to my land tomorrow. I am no longer interested to put my best effort in it. I just take what I get out of it and leave the rest to the vagaries of life." This pathetic and pessimistic lassitude on the part of a typical ryot is outcome of the lack of clarity of objectives and indecision on the part of the State,

In spite of this confusion, it is the existence of fundamental right to property that retains the confidence of the ryots and maintains the stability of the agricultural economy. It is therefore high time for the State, instead of talking loosely of taking away the fundamental right to property to concentrate in the making of a comprehensive law of land tenure regulating rights equitably of the ryots, cultivating tenants and the landless lobour and to place it on a stable basis which would have validity for a substantive period of time.

Even as regards other property, i.e property which is not the subject matter of agrarian reforms, the state has large powers to regulate the use of it. One of the limitations put on the said power by the Supreme Court is that compensation payable for a property acquired shall not be illusory and the principles of compensation should be reasonable and relevant to the equisition of property. If that condition was not satisfied, it will be a fraud on power. Arbitrary power does not like the judicial check against expropriation. The Supreme Court has left open the door for the progressive evolution of the principles of compensation. Instead of ideological debates, and dialectics, jurists, Research scholars, and Economists may investigate the problem for evolving reasonable principles of compensation relevant to the social, add economic condition of our country. Fixation of compensation is not an exact science. In other countries, research is being made on these lines. There is every scope for evolving new principles based on reason, equity

economic and social conditions of a particular society. There is a real need for research in this field.

Even on Industrial and business front, the Constitution has conferred large powers on the State to regulate them, to prevent concentration of wealth and exploitation and even to nationalise an industry or business, on economic considerations in public interest.

The right to property therefore is not entrenched in our constitution. It is one of the weakest fundamental rights. It is really at the mercy of autocratic power. The only safeguard it has now is Judicial check in a limited area. The protoganists of autocratic power seek to remove this check and destroy the right altogether. It is done the thin dividing line between liberty and slavery will be effaced.

The criticism that the constitution ignores duties is, also based on an erroneous reading of the relevant provisions of the Constitution. A duty is implicit it every right. The right to be accorded the dignity of a human being involves a duty to treat others in like manner. A person does not exist in a vaccum. He is a social being. He must coexist with others. Harmony and not conflict is the necessary condition of co-existence. Every right has a negative and positive duty. It is negative in so far as it avoids conflict. It is positive to the extent it is for the benefit of others. Freedom of speech involves a duty to respect a similar freedom of others. Otherwise it will become a babel of voices. Freedom of movement does not permit tresspass on others' property, but It is restricted by duty not to encroach on othert property. The right to freedom of conscience implied the duty of tolerance. The right to property carried with it the duty to protect the rights of persons who helped to develop and preserve the property. So too, every other right has a correlative duty. The law of social control which the legislature is empowered to make is nothing more than the law to enforce the said duty.

The comment that the Constitution made the rights inviolable and kept them beyond the reach of the Parliament is a clear misrepresentation. The fundamental rights are not absolute rights but are subject to laws of social control. The right to equality is subject to the doctrine of classification; the right to admission to

colleges and employment is subject to the laws making special provisions for backward communities and scheduled castes, the right to seven freedoms is subject to laws of reasonable restrictions in public interest, the right to life and personal liberty is subject to Procedure prescribed by law. The right to property is subject to law of deprivation, acquisition and taxation. The fundamental rights also can be modified by the Parliament by law in their application to armed forces and the forces charged with the maintenance of public order. They can also be restricted by Parliament by law while martial law is in force When the proclamation of emergency was issued, and during its continuance article 19 is suspended and the President by special order can suspend other rights. It is there fore manifest that the fundamental rights are not absolute and the Parliament or the Legislature as the case may be, can restrict them in the manner aforesaid in public interest. They are subject to justiciable laws of social control.

The further criticism that the Constitution does not protect the economic rights of the poor people is also based upon the ignorance of the relevent provisons of the constitution. Part In contains the directive principles of the state policy. They are not enforceable but none the less, fundamental to the governance of the country. A duty is cast upon the state to apply the said principles in making laws. They direct the state to bring about a social order, where justice, (social, political and economic) shall cover all the institutions of national life. It directs the state to, create conditions where there will no concentration of wealth where there is right to work, education, equal pay for equal work, leisure etc. These rights are not enforceable as fundamental rights, as they do not exist in nature but the state has to create conditions for bringing them into existence. A right to work, to education and to livelihood, to equal pay, to security, to leisure and such others are very desirable rights cannot come into existence. The right to work depends upon the employment potential created, the right to health upon medical facilities given, the right to education on the educational opportunities provided, the right to equal pay one the prosperity generated, the right to leisure on the technology and automation accepted by the industry. These can be made positive rights only if and when the necessary conditions are created by the

State. Till that time they are nothing more than directive principles of state policy. The distinction between fundamental rights and the potential rights embodies in the directive principles rests on the fact that the former exist but the latter are created by human ingenuity. Therefore the Constitution could at best give a command to the state to bring about the necessary conditions. Enlightened public opinion is the sanction for enforcing the command. Once the conditions are created and relevant law are made they become statutory enforceable rights.

There may be a conflict between the fundamental rights and the laws creating the said necessary conditions and statutory rights. The constitution created an independent judiciary to solve these conflicts. The judiciary has to decide both on the scope of the fundamental rights and the permissible limits of the laws of social control and to decide also on the validity of laws creating statutory rights, on the basis of the tests of legitimate encroachment, on the said rights. Out of this Conflict evalves the new social order by the process of judical adjustment and through the rule of law. If the statutory rights have become crystalized and the state can guarantee their encroahment, they can be raised to the pedestal of fundamental rights by suitable amendments of the Constitution. The new list of fundamental rights would in their turn becomes subject to justiciable laws of social ccntrol. By this continuous interaction of the fundamental rights and the laws of social control, through the medium of judicial process, the Constitution envisaged an organic growth of socio-economic justice in a free society.

Autocratic power finds the judicial check irksome and seeks to explain away its incompetency or neglect of duty by positing an inflexible and irreconcilable conflict between fundamental rights and directive principles. Its failure and latches are attributed to a conflict which does not exist and an excuse is found for abridging the said rights by amendment. Part III and IV therefore is a self-regulating scheme to bring about a new social order through the rule of law.

Hardly the ink on the Constitution was dry when the historic abridging conflict between power and freedoms revived.The erst-while champions of freedom occupying seats of power had over-night become the protoganists of arbitrary power. The familiar slogan of public

good was put out as an excuse for deflating the freedoms of the people. The power to amend the Constitution, conceived for the purpose of making necessary adjustments, to work it, was found handy to suppress the freedoms. With a few bold, subtle and deft strokes of amendment, the constitutional philosophy was changed and a totalitarian slant was given to it.

Briefly stated, the effect of the various amendments and the judicial decisions is as follows:

A corporation has no fundamental right under Article 19 of the Constitution. A citizen has no freedom to do business if a law is made conferring a monopoly on the state. He has also practically no right to property against legislative action, as a law made can enable a state to acquire his property on payment of compensation and the question of adequacy of compensation is not justiciable. He has no fundamental right to property called "Estate", which under its comprehensive definitions, takes in practically all the rural land. So too the rights of managing agents and the rights under agreements for mind and exploration of ouls can be extinguished by law without compensation. A person has practically no right to personal liberty against legislative action, as he can be deprived of it by enacted laws. There is no fundamental right of speech against the privilages of the Legislature. Though the said rights are enforceable against Executive action, in the factual set up of our Democracy it is more illusory than real, as the Executive can almost always push through any legislation. What is more, the scope of Article 32 and 226 which confer extensive jurisdiction on the Supreme Court and the High Courts to reach injustice wherever it is found, is so limited by construction that they ceased to be eflective instruments for eradicating deeper maladies, but are useful only as palliatives to correct superficial defects.

It is therefore clear that while the Indian Constitution has found a solution to the difficult problem of reconcilling human rights with economic rights, the Parliament by the process of amendment has deviated from it.

But the Supreme Court, in Golaknath case, attempted to salvage the remaining fundamental rights from extinction. The facts of that case were that the Punjab legislature made an Act fixing the

ceilings and distributing the surplus in terms thereof among the tenants subject to the conditions mentioned therein. The validity of the said Act was questioned on the ground it infringed the fundamental rights under Articles 14, 19 and 31. The Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Act and dismissed the petition. The said decision, contrary to the popular belief, was against the rich and in favour of the poor. In effect, the judgement laid down the following propositions:

1) The previous amendments made to the Constitution taking away or abridging fundamental rights would be valid on the principle of "prospective over ruling".

2) The Parliament will not have any power from the date of the decision to amend the provisions of part III of the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the fundamental rights enshrined therein.

3) The Parliament will have the power to restrict the said fundamental rights by amendment or by other laws provided the said restrictions are within the permissible limits laid down by Part III.

4) The Parliament by amendment can add new fundamental rights to Part III.

The decision, therefore has not prevented the State from making the requisite laws to implement the socio-economic reforms, but it certainly prevented the State from exercising its power arbitrarily in regard to the remaining freedoms. The criticism against the decision is really against the judicial check, and therefore against the Constitution itself.

The Parliament recently passed two amendments to the Constitution – Twentyfourth and Twentyfifth Amendments. The Constitution (Twentyfourth Amendment) Bill introduces the following changes in Article 368.

(1) It declares that Parliament has constituent power and that Article 368 itself confers on Parliament a substantive power to amend the Constitution;

(2) It enlarges the scope of the expression "amendment" so as to mean alteration, addition and repeal;

(3) It removes the discretion of the President in the matter of giving assent; and

(4) It says that amendment is not law within the meaning of Article 13.

The main object of the amendment appears to be to overrule the judgement in Golaknath case. But in effect it does much more than that. In short the Parliament usurps the constituent power of the people and makes itself supreme to the Constitution. It removes the Presidential and judicial check on Parliament's power to amend, alter or repeal any provisions of the Constitution. This amendment enables the Parliament, if it chooses, not only to take away all the fundamental rights of the people and the minorities, but also to change the fundamental structure of the Constitution.

The second amendment introduces the following changes in Article 31 in exercise of the power newly acquired under the amended Article 368 :

(1) It removes the well-known concept of "compensation" from the law of acquisition and replaces it by the word "amount" ;

(2) The law to implement Article 39(b) and (c) cannot be questioned on the ground that it is not such a law or that it infringes Articles 14, 17 and 31 of the Constitution. That is to say, the power of judicial review under Articles 326 and 226 is restricted to that extent ;

(3) The States cannot exercise the said power without the previous consent of the President; in other words, the legislatures are controlled by the Central Executive to this extent ; and

(4) The legislature's interpretation of "public purpose" under Article 39(b) and (c) is made non-justiciable.

Under this amendment, if the Parliament or the legislature makes a law with a statutory certificate that the said law is to enforce the directive principles under Article 39 (b) and (c) of the Consitution, the said law cannot be questioned in a court of law on the ground that it infringes Articles 14, 12 and 31. To put in other words, by a bare majority, the Parliament or the legislature, by the device of a certificate, may make Articles 14, 19 and 31 unenforceable. That apart, the said amendment made the fundamental right to property an illusory one, as both the amount of compensation and

the purpose of acquisition are not made justiciable, the former generally and the latter on the issuance of the necessary certificate. It will, therefore, be seen that the 24th and 25th amendments have deprived the people of this country practically their fundamental rights, in as much as the amendments taking away the fundamental rights and the laws made in exercise of the directive principles under Article 39 (b) and (c) are kept outside judicial review. Whether the fundamental rights are taken away from the Constitution or whether they are kept in the Constitution, but the judicial review in regard thereto is removed, the result is the same.

Human rights, therefore, are again in jeopardy in our country. After years of self sacrifice, India acquired freedom, and our Constitution-makes with vision preserved our human rights. They have evolved a model scheme reconciling the natural rights and the economic rights, facilitating thereby the smooth building up a new social order. The frequent amendments have already made the scheme to some extent ineffective and the recent amendments contained the seeds of its destruction altogether. In this context the off-quoted passage of a famous author may be relevant :—

"A people may prefer a free Government, but if, from indolence or carelessness or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they unequal to exertions necessary of preserving it, if they will not fight for it when it is directly attacked, if they can be deluded by the artifices and used to cheat them out of it. If by momentary discouragement or temporary panic, or a fir of enthusiasm for an individual they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet even of great man or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions, in all these cases more or less, they are unfit for liberty.

These words are as true today as they were then uttered. There has been eternal conflict between human rights and autocratic power. The conflict is human nature. It has now acquired international dimension. The two divergent forces are now rocking the world. Human rights can be preserved only by enlightened and vegilant public opinion. Public opinion, in our country, where illiteracy is rampant, depends upon the educated youth. I hope and trust that it will not fail the country during the crucial period, for Human rights are under its custody and its main responsibility.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

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INTRODUCTION

"A Nation is not a juxtaposition of individuals. It is a society based on a communion of minds, a union of hearts."

—*S. Radhakrishnan.*

It is a well known fact of history, that a handful of Arabs, Turks, Moghuls and Englishmen conquered and ruled over our country for long periods of time due to the absence of a united effort on the part of its people to meet the invaders. The importance of Nationalism in the preservation of unity and cohesion in the country was realised by our great leaders like Lokamanya Tilak, Swami Vivekananda, Lala Lajapat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi, who sacrificed their all for building up this unity. But the acceptance of the Partition of the country on the basis of the two-nation theory propounded by the Muslim League has destroyed the unity built up by the sacrifice of countless partiots. Our leaders thought that all the problems of our country would be solved once the British quit the country and acquiesced in accepting partition. The result has been that our problems have multiplied many times and we are faced with enemies on all sides. This act of our leaders stands in sharp contrast to the courageous step taken by Abraham Lincoln in not accepting the session of the southern states and even facing a civil war on the issue. This foresight and courage of Abraham Lincoln has kept the United States united and today it is the most powerful and prosperous country in the world.

To preserve our hard won freedom, it is necessary that our nation should be strong and united. Various attempts are being made to integrate the nation but we see that our attempts have not been succesful to the extent they ought to have been. Before going into the various aspects of the problem of National Integration it is necessary that the concept of nationhood should be clear to us, so that we may not be running after a mirage.

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

Now a days there is a lot of talk about emotional integration. Emotional integration does not mean a levelling down of differences for they are part of the nature of man and society. Where it has been achieved, it means that the people have the right to differ and express their differences reasonably and fearlessly within the larger framework of national unity and basic loyalties. This involves the cultivation of the precious quality of tolerance and charity as a supreme value, for it is a basic condition of civilized life in a culture which values variety. The right approach here is neither a levelling down of all differences so that there will be nothing to integrate, nor the encouragement of an attitude of indifference to the special values of different religions or group cultures and traditions. Tolerance is essentially a tolerance of differences. It means the right to hold to one's conviction firmly and frankly and a readiness to give others the right to do the same. It means in the classic words of Voltaire, "I differ profoundly with what you say so". but will give my life to safeguard your right to say so". Democracy is essentially a process of give-and-take and "emotional integration" is meant to prepare the right climate for the functioning of democracy. There are many elements in our cultural foundations which are favourable to the development of such a climate of opinion a tolerance of points of view other than one's own, a rejection of what Dr Radhakrishnan has called the "either or" attitude, a spirit of assimilation which has been resoponsible for the gradual emergence of our present culture. "Unity in diversity" is one of the fundamental values of our culture.

The basis for the emotional unity of a nation has to be rooted in something high and noble, deep and positive. The real and abiding source of emotional patriotic inspiration which can raise every single individual and group to heights of single-minded devotion to the nation as a whole can only be found in the spirit of unalloyed nationalism and not in mere assertion of rights, Political and economic. The feeling of profound love for the motherland, the intense consciousness of our being a single and indivisible brotherhood as the children of that common mother, and pride in our glorious national past, in our unique cultural heritage and aspiration to sea our motherland reseated in her pristine glory and honour in the comity of nations.

these alone can act as a constant and powerful incentive capable of taking up in its sweep every single son of the soil and bring about unbreakable national solidarity.

ROLE OF EDUCATION

There is no easy recipe to ensure the survival of these worthy values and promote national and emotional integration. It is essentially an uphill task which involves really the changing of the whole man from within and, therefore, calls for the reorientation of the entire educational process in its widest sense. We must utilise the various sources of inspiration in human life-religion, literature, science, philosophy, social sciences etc. which appeal to different persons, depending on their mental and emotional make up. We have also at our disposal the powerful modern media of mass communication through which we can direct, to some extent, thinking and behaviour of children and adults into healthy channels.

(1) Basic aims of Education for National Integration :

The primary aim of education for national integration is the promotion of national unity by inclucating in the teachers and the taught the beliefs and conduct essential for democratic living in India. This can be done by developing a general interest in the welfare of the nation as a whole, an appreciation of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, a conviction that reason and arbitration are superior to force in the settlement of inter group differences and the acceptance of the right of every person to live in peace and security in the country.

The second aim is to bring into conformity with democratic principles and practices, the majority and minority group conduct and relations.

The third aim is to enable the educands and the educators to internalise the faith that the basis of one's own or one's groups advancement depends on the functional ability, personal effiulecy and not more membership in a particular religious, caste, kin, or socio-economic group.

The fourth aim is to bring about a correct understanding and appreciation of cultural differences among the different regional standards. In any country there are situations of differences and

those of commonality. To emphasise either of these situations to the exclusion of the other is unrealistic for an educator. Once the why and whereof of the differences among the sub-cultures are properly understood, the establishment of the inter-group conduct and relations becomes realistic and hence assumes a stronger bond for national unity.

The fifth aim is to help the teachers and pupils to acquire a scale of values consistent with the ideals setforth in the Indian Constitution, namely, the ideals of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and apply these values to intergroup relations.

Besides the above mentioned five basic aims, the following secondary aims may be taken as guides to evolving learning experiences in the schools of the country. They are called secondary aims because they are the concomitant ones from the basic aims mentioned above.

These aims are as follows:

1. To evolve and foster desirable behaviour patterns in daily life situations that show up the tolerance of the difference in inter-group relations.

2. To encourage all groups to participate in the community action programmes for the betterment of the community.

3. To improve human relations in the school and outside community through a comprehensive educational curricula.

4. To make known the contributions of different subsculture to the National Welfare and publicise the harm that is caused by the fissiparous tendencies of ingroup activities.

5. To combat factors that stimulate conflicts and prejudices of people in regard to their relationship with the rival or the unfamiliar groups within the nation.

6. And finally, to evolve suitable learning experiences to enable the pupils to seek increasingly a wider field of operation in the country to satisfy their aspirations, be they individual or of the group.

ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Universities have a special role to play in bringing about inter-state understanding and can create a mental climate in which Indian unity can attain full bloom. They are the intellectual power houses of the nation where from should eminate men with understanding, broadmindedness and enlarged vision. As such they are bound to inspire the people of the country to have national goals and national aspirations which bring the people nearer to one another. At the University, the values of equality, cooperation, respect for individual opinion and appreciation of basic commonness of all humanity can be learnt and assimilated. The university should be free to develop its talents in an appropriate direction without being hampered by political or regional consideration. Once a student is trained in such an atmosphere of freedom, trust and recognition he will develop a degree of involvement not merely in those immediately around but in the welfare and prosperity of people in the country as whole. The following are some practical suggestions which would help promote National Integration :

(a) Free movement and exchange of teachers and students from one university to another on all-India basis particularly for (1) lectures and seminars (2) specialised training (3) research (4) community experience etc.

(b) Organisation of summer courses in different regions and different universities admission to which should be open to all University students. This would engage the energies of students during vacations when formal instruction ceases in a university.

(c) Strengthening of student organisations with a view to canalising their activities in constructive efforts. These organisations may be required to provide squads for helping constructive work in different universities in the country.

(d) Organising cultural associations which would especially emphasise :

(i) Appreciation of art, literature, drama and poetry, found in different groups and regions in the country.

(ii) Information and sympathetic understanding of the customs folk–ways and manners, rituals and values of different sub-cultures of our country.

(iii) Students' dramatic societies which would give open-air or "arena theatre" performance in different regions or areas of the country.

(e) Language clubs or literary associations which would foster study of different languages of the country. (1) short courses by using modern technical devices be given. (2) Translation of books on different subjects by students be specially encouraged.

(f) Hostels and Halls be organised on a 'mixed' basis i.e., students of different groups (castes) and regions live together. No separate hostels for any community or group or region should be allowed.

(g) No denominational organisations or groups on caste or communal and sectarian basis to be allowed by Universities.

(h) Inter-university migrations be encouraged for short terms without any extra fees etc. and with adequate facilities.

(i) Stipends and fellowships be freely given to all students from any region or groups.

(j) Travel grants and facilities for transport and communications.

(k) Inter-university meetings of students and teachers not merely for 'cultural' purposes, but for academic and administrative purposes too.

(l) An inter-university survey of the needs and requirements of students specially the conditions of their living, their difficulties etc.

(m) Emphasis on achievement only irrespective of the complexion and charecter of the groups or region. No special privileges to any particular section or group.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF KOTHARI COMMISSION :

The Kothari Commission makes the following recommendations for social and National Integration :

1. Introduction of the common school system of public education–which will be open to all children irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic conditions or social status;

   — where access to good education will depend, not on wealth or class, but on talent;

   — which will maintain adequate standards in all schools and provide atleast a reasonable proportion of quality institutions;

   — in which no tution fee will be charged; and

   — which would meet the needs of the average parent so that he would not ordinarily feel the need to send his children to expensive schools outside the system.

2. Making National and social service an integral part of education at all stages. Two main forms in which such service can be organised are :

   (i) encouraging and enabling students to participate in community living on the school or college campus; and

   (ii) providing opportunities of participation in programmes of community development and national service.

It should be obligatory on every college student, before he is awarded his first degree, to put in atleast 60 days of national service in one to three stretches. Each college should develop its own appropriate programme suited to its objectives, its resources and competence of its students. Participation in labour and Social Welfare camps or the N. C. C. should also be regarded as alternative forms of such service.

3. Developing all modern Indian languages, and taking necessary steps to enrich Hindi as quickly as possible so that it is able to function effectively as the official language of the Union.

Promoting national consciousness :

The effort to develop national consciousness was made largely outside the educational system, during the struggle for freedom between 1900 and 1947. Its foundation was a renewed belief in the value of national culture and traditions and a pride in India's past achievements. It was an attempt as Gandhiji Put it, to refuse to be blown off one's feet even when all the windows of one house were thrown open to fresh winds from every corner of the world.

The depending of national consciouness can be fostered specially by two programmes : (1) the understanding and re-evaluation of our cultural heritage and (2) the creation of a strong driving faith in the future towards which we aspire. The first would be promoted by well-organized teaching of languages and literature and by introducing the students to Indian music, architecture, sculpture, painting, dance and drama. Faith in the future would involve an attempt, as a part of the course in citizenship, to bring home to the students the principles of the constitution, the great human values referred to in the preamble, the nature of the democratic and socialistic society which we desire to create and the plans for national development.

CONCLUSION

National Integration is a stupendous task. It is bound up with political, economic and social conditions in the country. It is a slow and steady process. It is the development of a mental climate that would help react in terms of oneness, irrespective of the religion of the people concerned. While differences of opinion and diversity, national interests must always reign supreme.

It is only education that can help India "to find herself again" and thus open "new horizons" so that the future will fascinate her more than the glories of her past. Only teachers, who are nationally integrated individuals, can promote this awareness of unity among pupils.

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OUR FOREIGN POLICY

SURJIT MANSING
FORMER UNDER-SECRETARY, UNION MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Twenty-five years ago India entered the international arena as an Independent State. Today India seems to be stepping on to the stage of major powers. What have these 25 years meant in terms of a pragmatic foreign policy?

It is a convenient point in time to take stock of India's relations with other States over a quarter century a period in which the international picture itself has changed considerably. In what respects have our goals and tactics altered? What have been our major success and failures in our dealings with other countries?

The creator of Independent India's foreign policy, Jawaharlal Nehru, held that a nation could not be considered independent merely because it enjoyed internal self-Government. It had to act independently in foreign relations if it was to be truly free.

Nehru, like Mahatma Gandhi, believed also that India had a mission in the World; that our freedom should blaze a trail in the new era following the Second World War. Thus Nehru initiated an active international role for India–one of participating in international organisations and conferences; one of championing the cause of dependent or formerly dependent peoples.

India took a lead in calling the world's attention to global needs for economic development and unclear disarmament; it offered to mediate wherever possible to prevent local conflicts from escalating into a world war.

NEHRU'S VISION

Obversely, other countries and international organisations were invited to participate in India's efforts to achieve economic self-reliance and cultural rediscovery. Nehru, like some of the finest Indians of the age, could not conceive of an India cut off from most of the world by dependence on any one relationship, such as

the colonial one with Britain, or by self-constructed walls of chauvinism.

The first time I met him, in April 1959, Nehru spoke most feelingly of the need for dynamic interaction between individuals and nations. He stressed, at some length, the necessity for us, new young representatives of India, to be rooted in and proud of our own country while remaining open to the ideas and people of other countries.

Nehru visualised India taking its place as one of the most important members of the international community, with special contributions to make in the solution of world problems. He probably under-estimated the difficulties we would meet in solving our own external problems; indeed, we Indians still express surprise when other States fail to support, or actually oppose, us.

The instruments with which to implement an ambitious global policy, however, were weak in 1947. Among the Congress Party leaders, only Nehru had cultivated a general interest in foreign affairs. His ideas were similar to those of V. K. Krishna Menon, who soon became his chief lieutenant abroad but never enjoyed a strong position at home. Among the civil servants inherited from British India, few had any experience in diplomacy. The newly formed Indian Foreign Service was not trained in the discipline of international relations or expected to think creatively on policy matters.

Even when I joined the Service in 1959, emphasis was placed, in our training programmes, on being a "generalist", on niceties of etiquette and good personal relations, rather than a systematic study or analysis of foreign relations. A year of general education at Oxford had formed part of the training until the previous year, A Policy Planning Unit was not added to the Ministry of External Affairs until the mid-1960s, and its contributions to policy-making or anticipation of events are still hard to measure.

The general level of knowledge about world affairs in the country as a whole was, naturally, very low, and individuals who did develop some expertise outside the Government were usually ignored by it. Foreign policy sprang from the head of the Prime-Minister, largely in the form of educative speeches in Parliament.

A penchant for making speeches with generalisations and moral overtones was carried abroad. Indian spokesmen eloquently voiced the conscience of the world. They talked about normative principles of international conduct-notably the PANCHSHEEL in which some real gains were buried under the doctrine.

Proclamations made at international conferences, especially of Asian and African nations, were for some time made substitutes for a carefully nurtured communality of national interests. This was all very well as long as the colonial experience precluded a more intimate contact among emerging nations but it was not enough. Moreover, India's laudable reluctance to play the part of an arm-twisting Big Power was matched by our genuine inability to exert material pressure on other states. We made a virtue of our weakness. We paraded our poverty. But we also wanted prestige and influence—otherwise known as "power".

The Indian effort, therefore, was to create psychological pressure; to claim moral power. But the hortatory approach to other people's problems, adopted repeatedly, had the cumulative effect of irritating them. This irritation was quickly expressed when India itself became embroiled in conflicts with Pakistan, Portugal or China.

The first objective of Indian foreign policy was to impress the fact of our Independence on world, In 1947 the number of independent states was a little more than a third of what it is today. These states were polarised behind the United States and the Soviet Union, each having a global ideology of its own, and both differing from that developed by Nehru.

Indian was the largest and the strongest country to emerge from colonial status. Non-alignment as the chief expression of India's foreign policy grew from this conjunction of circumstances. When India's independent status was no longer in doubt, when the external environment changed, the content of our foreign policy should have altered; it did, in fact, belatedly change though we cling on to the same nomenclature.

Non-alignment at first meant little more than a refusal to commit ourselves in advance to support policies originating in

Washington, London or Moscow. Delhi was to formulate India's policies in the light of what looked right to Delhi. No one was to be allowed to accuse India of being a "hanger-on" of another state. But our assertion of Independence did not immediately get full recognition.

WESTERN INFLUENCE

India remained a member of the Commonwealth-Nehru and Menon justified this to domestic critics as not doing us any harm but possibly some good. Western influence was obvious in the style and language of our diplomacy, as well as in our constitution and political institutions. Therefore India had to oppose demonstrably the "West" in order to prove that it was not a tacit member of the Western alliance.

India's consistent anti-colonial campaign was; of course, directed against the old imperial powers of Europe. We assisted in the process by which Indonesia gained independence in 1949. Dedicated and high-quality work by Indians on UN Committees facilitated decolonisation in Africa.

But it also should be remembered that we gave verbal rather than material support to freedom struggles in other parts of the world and were selective in those that we supported. "Nationalists" were preferred over "Communists"; and India was markedly less hostile in its attacks against British overseas control than against the Portuguese, or the French, or against American military alliances extending to our doorstep.

After the war, the "West" meant mainly the United States. So it was against the US that we had to exert ourselves most. American Governments strongly opposed what was called "International Communism" at home and abroad. They estalished a system of military alliances around the world for security against the Soviet Union and China. American leadership tried to draw India into its crusade ; Nehru's reaction was to dig in his heels firmly. And Americans have not yet forgiven India for that.

For Indians, especially in the Government, criticism of the US became almost synonymous with demonstrating freedom of action. At the other pole, serious efforts were made to convince

the Soviet Union of our friendly intentions and genuine independence. Stalin ignored the overtures at first, even the presence of Mrs. Pandit as Ambassador in Moscow ; but he began to pay attention to to India's mediatory diplomacy during the Koran War, when Amassador K. M. Panikkar in Peking was taking the first steps on the "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai !" road.

Stalin's death and the Soviet need for friends and trading partners outside the small circle of socialist countries raised the curtain on Indo-Soviet ties. Relations in certain well-defined areas were carefully developed from scratch. The Indian Government found it possible to overlook Soviet resorts to force in its admiration for socialism or the transformation of Modern Russia. The Soviet Government found it possible to forgive the "bourgeois" character of Congress rule while cultivating the friendship of the second-largest conglomeration of people under one flag in the world. And the sincere goodness of Ambassador K. P. S. Menon must have made things easier.

So, almost simultaneously in the 1950s, both Super Powers were forced to tolerate, respect and eventually support non-alignment as a third pole in global politics. Other newly independent states joined India under the banner of 'non-alignment' and what we euphemistically called an "area of peace".

Because Indian policy on many Cold War issues could not be predicted and because India remained uncommitted to either of the competing ideologies, both the USA and the USSR tried to attract India's support. In doing so they seldom modified policies involving their own national interests but were willing to accept Indian mediation or drafting skill in smoothing out potentially explosive situations. Thus in Indo-China, in the Suez crisis of 1956, the congo crisis of 1960–64 in disarmament negotiations at Geneva, in salvaging the finances of the UN, India gained prominence.

SOVIET SUPPORT

More important, each power was willing to back some of India's tangible goals, The Soviet Union backed our efforts to achieve economic self-reliance through large-scale assistance to public sactor industries and by opening to us new avenues of trade. It spectacularly supported our case on Goa, on Kashmir and more

recently, on Bangladesh ; it remained neutral in our short wars with China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965.

The United States became the largest single contributor to India's planned development towards "take-off" into self-sustaining economic growth. This at a time when Mr. Nixon was Vice-President and John Foster Dulles and Krishna Menon were publicly hurling invectives at each other's country. But no US Government has yet found it possible to acknowledge India as the dominant power in this part of the world. With few exceptions—such as the Laos settlement of 1962—the Asian policies of the two states have clashed.

There were three sweet-sour years in Indo-American relations when President Kennedy's interest in India and admiration for Nehru were widely acknowledged and India was no longer the most "radical" of the Asian and African states. We, in Woshington, prepared excitedly for Panditji's visit there in November 1961. He and Mrs. Gandhi being received in the floodlit porch of the White House by the Kennedys made an exquisite picture, even from the other side of the street where I was. We were sure that the visit would prove much more fruitful than Kennedy's earlier exchanges with President Ayub Khan.

We were wrong. Pakistan's Ambassador, Aziz Ahmed, had been ceaselessly active for years, cultivating friends in the Congress, the Pentagon and every level of American society.

The Indian Embassy was hardly as efficient or active as it could have been – though it was an improvement on the past. Then, in December, the Indian Army liberated Goa and, since nobody in Washington had known anything about it, we indulged in **Ex Post Facto** explanations.

The prompt American support to us during the Chinese attack of 1962 was subsequently vitiated by their concern for Pakistan's sensitivities. Kennedy and Nehru died six months apart. Things looked up again when Prime-Minister Indira Gandhi charmed President Johnson, but soon the record of frustrated expectations and hurt feelings on both sides lengthened. 1971 worsened the situation.

TAKEN FOR GRANTED

A reverse scenario could probably be written for Indo-Soviet relations. An impression is sometimes created of an unbroken

acceleration of friendship form the "Panchsheel" agreement of 1955 to the Indo–Soviet Treaty of Friendship of 1971. But there have been sticky passages too whenever Soviet leaders have seemed to take India for granted, or shown an interest in strengthening Pakistan, or tried to mend their fences with China. The aftermath Tashkent was not entirely sweet.

Besides demonstrating independence of action through non-alignment, India's objective in foreign policy was peace and friendship with all nations. Unfortunately we tried for too long to achieve this through our global posture of non-alignment and anti-colonialism, instead of developing systematic policies to suit the requirements of friendship with a particular region or state.

Enough has been experienced to show that we have not yet had either peace or friendship with Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan created burdens for India, which previous Indian leaders have not known how to lighten. Our non-alignment was pitted against Pakistan's alignment with the West. That Pakistan benefited from its American alliance is unquestionable-though not perhaps in the long view of history: it also derived advantages from behaving as if it were non-aligned.

India offered no sufficiently attractive alternatives to wean Pakistan away from military confrontation with us to permanent peace. A "no-war pact" did not take adequate account of Pakistan's obsessive fears of Indian dominance. And Kashmir has hitherto aroused too many domestic emotions and foreign pressures in both countries to allow it to be rationally discussed by the two governments. But the case is not lost.

The last time Pakistan's Government charged dramatically in 1958, agreements were negotiated over rationalising the borders and over dividing the waters of the Indus River system. Those were achievements, even if they did not prevent subsequent hostilities. Maybe today's leaders on the subcontinent can do better.

Nor were our relations with China served by the global posture of non-alignment and the diplomacy of peaceful Asian revivalism into which we tried to draw it. The possibility of Chinese hostility on our Himalayan frontiers was anticipated by some well-placed Indians in 1950; and Panikkar and Nehru may not have been

as convinced as they sounded that China would not menace us because we did not threaten them. But most of the Indian public was persuaded that the "Chinese peril" was a figment of Western capitalist imagination.

We did not-we could not-prepare to meet danger.

At the same time, the Indian Government did not willingly relinquish its presence in Tibet or give up its claims to territories disputed by China. The Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan refugees were given sanctuary in India. His Holiness was housed for some time near the Administrative Training School in Mussoorie and the possibilities of his returning to setting up an Exile Government in India had not been entirely ruled out when we were given an audience.

OUR "FAIRY DREAM WORLD"

Even after the Sino–Indian border talks of 1960, when our legalistically documented claims confronted Chinese determination to stand firm, there was no proper synchronisation between our diplomacy and our actual military strength. (Krishna Menon was supposedly coordinating Defence and Foreign Affairs in those days.) So, in 1962, our "fairy dream world," as Nehru brokenly called it, collapsed. It took nearly ten years to recover from that "betrayal" and realise that we had been fooling ourselves.

Among our neighbours in South–East and West Asia, non-alignment was an attractive idea but did not meet the material needs of all the states. Only the larger ones, or those strategically placed like Afghanistan, could withstand great power pressures to choose sides. India has not yet been in a position to offer them alternatives except in words.

Asian and African countries were exposed to our idealistic pronouncements, on the one hand, and the shoddy behaviour of Indians abroad on the other. Reminders of Indian cultural greatness contrasted poorly with the well-known reluctance of Indian officials to serve in "underdeveloped" countries. When young diplomats made friends with Africans at Commonwealth meetings-instead of consorting only with representatives from the older dominions, even South Africa, as many Indians preferred to do we learned from them about the unpleasant experiences of African students in India. When Indian society at home and abroad despised

coloured *mlechchas*, we could hardly expect them to support us all the time. They didn't. And our immediate neighbours, Nepal and Ceylon, learned to practise their own brand of non-alignment in which India figured as a power to be feared. Fortunately, Delhi understood that.

INDIA AND WEST ASIA

Other complications entered into India's relations with West Asian states. Partition affected adversely the most obvious bases for friendship between Independent India and the Muslim states to the West: a continuous land-bridge and a common religion. Pakistan inherited the advantages of both and used them for its own anti-Indian purposes. Maulana Azad felt this keenly and tried to expand ties with the Islamic world.

In any case, India could not afford to be isolated from the Middle East, because our lines of communication passed through there and because nearly three-quarters of our overseas trade went through the Suez Canal when it was open. Moreover, the Arab members of the United Nations formed with India the beginnings of the Afro-Asian voting group which often swung the balance in UN debates on Cold War or colonial issues.

Badly treated in the Security Council over Kashmir, India always hoped to fare better in the General Assembly if it could not succeed in keeping the issue out of UN discussion altogether. Pakistan's appeal to the Islamic world had to be countered. New Delhi did so by publicising the size of India's Muslim population and secular state policy (but, whenever possible, Muslim Ambassadors were sent to Muslim countries).

Simultaneously, New Delhi opposed the mixture of religion with politics and deplored international ties based on religion alone. When the slogans of non-alignment and anti-colonialism were added to the recipe, little more than a special relationship with Egypt was produced.

But the friendly rapport between Nassar and Ali Sabri and Nehru and Menon did not always percolate to the lower levels. For Example, the Indian Embassy in Paris handled the business of the United Arab Republic with France for some years after 1956. The Egyptian and the Indian clerical staff did not get on well and

accused each other of corruption in the matter of performing consular services. That problem was sorted out with a modicum of effort. But when the UAR broke relations with Belgium over the Congo crisis, they did not ask India to hold the baby.

At the non–governmental level, the stories of Indians working at professions or business in the Middle East are good for a whole evening's entertainment. Nevertheless the Indian Government has always known that friendship with, or at least lack of animosity from, the Arab states was desirable for its general policy objectives.

The Arab states, on their side, have remained obsessed with Israel and see little in India that they cannot get elsewhere. India had opposed the partition of Palestine in 1948 but extended formal recognition to Israel in 1950. Israel, for obvious reasons, pressed for full deplomatic ties and closer relations. New Delhi tarried–and the longer it tarried, the more acute because its dilemma : How to satisfy logic and that section of the Indian public which wanted normal relations with a small, energetic, semi-European state without sacrificing more important stakes in foreign policy. Presumably patience, silence and events beyond our control will ultimately resolve the dilemma one way or the other.

CHANGED WORLD PICTURE

Over twenty-five years, the world picture has changed as much as India's internal condition-perhaps more. The old bi-polar power system no longer prevails. Politically and economically, "middle" powers like Canada, Germany and Japan play important international roles. Our relations with them have been increasingly fruitful in the past and hold promise for the future if carefully tended.

Anti-colonialism has been transmuted into conferences on trade and development.

Non–alignment paid us ill in Asia and Africa but gave India influence with and benefits from both the USA and the USSR.

For the moment we enjoy Soviet support and must keeping it while reopening a dialogue with China.

And, when America's trauma in Vietnam ends, it may again see India in proper perspective.

This is the great game of power politics. Our Prime-Minister is probably capable of playing it with as much skill abroad as she does at home. In any case, we are now dealt into the game and we cannot escape the consequences.

GREATER SELF-RELIANCE IN DEFENCE NEEDS

G. L. SHETH
Secretary, Defence Production, Union Ministry of Defence.

The defence policy and strategy of a country is largely influenced by its foreign policy. India has, ever since independence, consistently pursued a policy of non-alignment and has preached and practised principles of co-existence. It has not entered into military alliances or pacts like CENTO and SEATO. It has all along pursued a policy of complete independence in regard to its relations with foreign countries. At the same time, India had believed that it had no enemies and that there would be no occasion for an armed conflict with anyone, particularly its neighbours. This belief was, however, rudely shaken soon after Independence. We had to engage in a limited conflict in aid of one of the States which belonged to the former undivided India and is now an integral part of our country. Since then, there have been at least two major conflicts and one minor conflict before the recent war in December. The first was the invasion of India by China in 1962, which came as a rude shock to the Government and the people of the country. This was followed by hostilities on the borders of Kutch with Pakistan in May 1965 and a major conflict with Pakistan in September 1965. These events brought home the necessity of building up a sound defence production base so that we could be self-sufficient and self-reliant to the maximum extent possible.

RE-ORIENTATION OF DEFENCE POLICY

Following the chinese aggression in 1962 a general reappraisal of the country's defence policy and weapons and equipment to be used by the Indian defence forces was undertaken. This conflict highlighted the fact that the Indian forces were not adequately equipped to fight in high altitude regions which border China and Pakistan especially in Jammu and Kashmir. It also showed that we lacked modern weapons and equipment, The 1965 conflict with Pakistan brought home more forcefully than the Chinese aggression in 1962 that the nation's dependence on foreign countries for supply of defence equipment and stores, was not at all desirable. The country realised that even those who had come forward with

generous offers of assistance at the time of the Chinese aggression were not only reluctant but positively averse to assist. Almost all the western countries imposed an embargo on the supply of lethal equipment to India and some of them even refused to honour contracts placed on them, where even payment had been made. This highlighted the need to reduce our dependence on foreign countries for the supply of defence equipment if we were to be able to withstand future aggressions. The country's defence policy had, therefore, to be re-oriented. It was then shaped with the twin-objective of modernising our arms and equipment and achieving progressive self-reliance by setting up new capacities, expansion of existing capacities and gearing of the entire industrial base for the manufacture of defence equipment and stores.

Production of defence equipment is organised largely in the departmental factories and public sector undertakings under the over all control of the Department of Defence Production. These units together provide our armed forces the bulk of their requirements of small arms, ammunition, artillery, armour, vehicles, aircraft, navalships and clothing. There are at present 30 departmental factories and 8 public sector undertakings under the control of the Defence Ministry. Organisation of defence production under the direct control of Government has a historical background. The British were naturally reluctant to associate any private industry with the production of arms and ammunition. Hence, ordnance factories formed the core of the nation's defence production effort.

Prior to independence, defence production represented a rudimental industry with limited capacity to manufacture rifles, guns, ammunition and certain miscellaneous stores required by the Army. They were, however, largely constituted as subsidiaries of the Royal Ordnance Factories and little effort had been made to build up competence to design and develop and productionise a wide range of arms and ammunition and other equipment that the services needed. In fact, there were only seven ordnance factories before the Second World War. In the post-independence period, this trend of concentrating production of all arms and ammunition including aircraft and warships in the public sector continued. Under the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956, all such production was reserved for the public sector. However simultaneous efforts were made to build up a sound defence production base to augment our

capacity as well as to achieve a larger degree of self-sufficiency and self-reliance. Ten more departmental factories came into existence in the post-Independence period. Eight public sector undertakings under the control of the Department of Defence production have also come into existence in their present form after independence. These together, namely, the departmental factories and the public sector undertakings constitute almost entirely the defence production effort of our country. Until 1965, in any case, hardly any use was made of the vast industrial capacity built up in the private sector and other public sector units outside the defence fold.

CRASH PROGRAMME

The 1965 war with Pakistan, as I have mentioned earlier, emphasised the urgency of complete self–sufficiency and self–reliance as early as possible. It was in the context that the then Prime-Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri, ordered the creation of a new department, called the Department of Defence supplies. This was created almost overnight in the Defence Ministry and charged with the specific responsibility of undertaking a crash programme of indigenous production of all defence stores and equipment which had hitherto been imported and which were not within the production programme of defence production units. This department was also expected to organise manufacture of new equipment designed and developed by our own research and development agencies. Contribution made by this Department in our drive for self–sufficiency will be dealt with later.

Self sufficiency in the Defence fields has to be viewed from two aspects. We have to consider how far we are able to meet the total requirements of our armed forces for all kinds of weapons, equipment, aircraft, warships etc. There is. however, another aspect and that is self–reliance, We must distinguish between self–sufficiency and self–reliance. A nation may be self-sufficient in the sense that it is able to produce all its needs but it may not be self–reliant in the sense that it may be producing this with foreign participation or under licence manufacture. As I shall explain later, we are not completely self–reliant in the sense that we are producing everything without any foreign collaboration. On the other hand, we have achieved a great degree of self–sufficiency in almost every field except in regard to some of the very highly sophisticated items.

It is in this context that I shall deal first with the production organised in the ordnance factories and other departmental factories, producing in the public sector undertakings and the contribution made by the civil sector.

The departmental factories, spread all over the country produce a wide variety of stores such as arms, ammunition, guns, tanks, precision and optical instruments, field cables, parachutes and textiles and a number of other equipment to meet the requirements of the armed forces. These factories have made phenomenal progress in the last few years. The value of total production in the ordnance factories rose from Rs. 41 crores in 1961–62 to well over Rs. 100 crores in 1970–71. The requirements of the Army for small arms and ammunition, artillery, armour and other items of equipments are dealt with in detail below.

MODERNISATION

After the Chinese aggression in 1962 the plans for modernisation and re-equipment of the Army were implemented with remarkable speed. The Indian Army is now full equipped with 7.62 mm self-loading rifle which is designed and developed entirely by us and 7.62 mm light machine gun. The other infantry weapon is 81 mm mortar whose production has been established under licence and has replaced completely the old 3" mortar of restricted range and capability. For the artillery regiments, production has been established for 120 mm mortar to replace the old 4.2" mortar. A project has already been sanctioned to replace the old 25 pounder gun by a new and more sophisticated field gun. For the mountain artillery regiments, we have developed what is known as 75/24 Pack, which has much better range and greater manouverability than the large variety of such weapons of World war II vintage which we had in service. This mountain gun has been designed and developed entirely by us and compares favourably with any mountain gun in the world. The ordnance factories have been producing for quite some time now a modern anti-aircraft gun which is used as a defence against low-flying aircraft with the help of sophisticated radars which are also being manufactured in one of the public sector undertakings.

Considerable progress has been made to equip the armoured regiments with indigenously produced Vijayanta tanks This is a

medium tank which will replace the old Centurions, which are too heavy for the requirements of the Indian Army. The Heavy vehicles Factory at Avadi rolled out of the first Vijayanta tank in December 1965 and has been steadily building up its production from year to year. This tank is admitted to be of the leaders in the class of medium tanks.

AMMUNITION

Almost all types of ammunition required for the various weapons mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have been established to meet the full requirements. In this range are included the various types of 7.62 mm ammunition, 81 mm and 120 mm mortar/bombs and ammunition for the mountain gun and the field gun. Ammunition required for the Vijayanta tank has also been established.

It is important to mention that bulk of the manufacture of small arms and ammunition is overwhelmingly indigenous concept for a few types of scarce metals and chemicals. In the production of Vijayanta tanks we have already achieved an indigenous content of 65 per cent and this expected to increase to 85 per cent in the next two to three years. Some of the very sophisticated items like infrared devices for night fighting capability have been developed by the Research and Development Wing of Defence production and its production has also been established both in the public and private sectors. Proposals are already under way for building a series of lighter vehicles like armoured personnel carriers, self-propelled guns etc. In effect, all the future requirements of the Army for all armoured fighting vehicles are expected to be met from indigenous production.

In this context, I would like to clarify certain statements made in an article published in a leading daily (not THE HINDU). It was stated in that article that although we have established production of such sophisticated items as Vijayanta tanks, we have still not established production of guns which we are still importing. Actually, we have successfully established the production of tank guns in the country. At the same time, it is true that we have occasionally imported some barrels until our own production is built up to match the production of tanks. It might be of interest to know that the guns produced in the country have proved even superior to the

imported ones. I have already mentioned that the infra-red devices have not only been designed and developed but already productionised, though there is no doubt that we had earlier imported some devices.

There are 8 defence public sector undertakings controlled by the Ministry of Defence through the Department of Defence production. These are (1) Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (2) Bharat Electronics Limited (3) Mazagon Docks Limited (4) Goa shipyard (5) Garden Reach Workshops (6) Bharat Earth Movers Limited (7) Praga Tools Limited and (8) Bharat Dynamics Limited. These are engaged in the production of aircraft, electronics. modern warships, heavy earthmoving equipment, missiles etc. crucial items for defence in which self–sufficiency is imperative.

HINDUSTAN AERONAUTICS

Hindustan Aeronautics Limited is currently manufacturing the jet ground attack fighter HF–24. the supersonic interceptor MIG–21, the jet fighter Gnat aircraft, the trainer HJT–16 the Alouette helicopter and SA–315 helicopter for the air observation post role, and the medium transport aircraft HS–748. HF–24 and HJT–16 are of indigenous design and are not produced under licence as is the case with the Gnat and the Alouetee helicopter. Production of Mig–21 air craft was planned in four phases namely (i) from major assemblies; (ii) from sub–assemblies; (iii) from details; and (iv) from raw materials. Production of this aircraft has progressed extremely well. The state of manufacture of airframe from raw materials has already been reached and the first engine produced from raw materials is also likely to be supplied very shortly. The present series of MIG–21 aircraft will soon be replaced by an improved version which will be distinctly superior in range speed and fire power.

The design development and productionisation of modern aircraft is a long process and calls for large outlays. However, new types of aircraft have been taken up in accordance with the changing requirements of the Air Force and the resources available. To meet the needs of the Air Force for the Eighties a proposal to design and develop an advanced strike aircraft incorporating the latest technology is under consideration. The design and development of a helicopter for meeting the future requirements of defence is also being taken up.

The development of the aircraft industry requires a suitable infra-structure of industrial development in the country. Concerted efforts are being made to establish indigenous sources of supply for as many items of imported stores as possible. Aircraft accessories and instruments form 25 to 30 per cent of the cost of modern aircraft. These are now being imported. With a view to achieving self-sefficiency in this area., a separate division of Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. has been established at Lucknow. This unit is expected go into production by the end of 1972.

It is obvious that self-sufficiency in aircraft production has not been achieved to the extent one would wish. This is, however, a difficult process. Requirements of aircraft being limited, it is not always possible to establish production of every assembly, sub-assembly, and component. Some of the highly sophisticated ones have to be imported. In such cases, an attempt is made to achieve self-sufficiency by stockpiling whenever necessary. But efforts have been initiated to standardise on a large variety of equipment, especially in the electronics field and when this is achieved, progress of indigenisation will be accelerated. The value of items produced in Hindustan Aeronautics Limited has increased from Rs. 18.80 crores in 1965–66 to Rs. 74.75 crores in 1970–71.

NAVAL REQUIREMENTS

Unfortunately, strengthening and modernisation of the Navy received low priority until 1965. However, since then considerable efforts have been made to strengthen and modernise naval equipment. Ship-building capacity has been greatly enhanced since 1964 and production of a highly sophisticated frigate has already been established under licence in Mazagon Docks Limited. The first and second frigates are now being fitted out and the hull of the third one is in progress. Garden Reach Workshops, Calcutta has also undertaken construction of minor war vessels and a programme for increasing the capacity of this yard has already been sanctioned. The value of production of defence shipyards has increased from Rs. 7.36 crores in 1963–64 to Rs. 31.48 crores in 1970–71. Both these shipyards have established a very good name for themselves as can be seen from the fact that their foreign exchange earnings by under-taking ship repairs have been steadily increasing over the last few years.

Electronics plays a vital role in all modern defence equip ment. This was realised sufficiently early with the result that an electronics factory, called Bharat Electronics Limited, was set up in 1954 with a view to achieving self-sufficiency in the wide range of electronic and electrical equipment required by the defence forces. At the commencement of emergency in !962, there was a serious shortage of signalling equipment for units to be raised and the existing equipment was mostly old and obsolete. After 1962, this company radically stepped up and diversified its production. It entered into collaboration agreements with a number of foreign firms with a view to obtaining kow-how of modern techniques. A very broad base has now been created in the field of electronics, Although a large number of electronics equipment produced by Bharat Electronics and Hindustan Aeronautics are under licence production, substantial progress has been made in designing new equipment indigenously. Many development projects have been entrusted to the Research and Development Organisation and a number of equipment have already been successfully developed and established. An idea of the tremendous progress made by this undertaking can be had from the fact that the value of production of Bharat Electronics has increased from Rs. 3.04 crores in 1962-63 to Rs. 28.64 crores in 1970-71. Bulk of this represents the value of defence equipment and a portion of its items produced for civil requirements. The value of production of defence equipment is expected to go up to Rs. 30 crores per annum by 1973-74.

CONTRIBUTION BY PRIVATE SECTOR

While the departmental factories and defence public sector undertakings constitute the visible symbols of the nation's strength, it is neither feasible nor desirable to rely on the Government defence industries alone. The requirements of a modern war are so vast and varied that there has to be an expanding base to meet the increasing demands. The catching up of defence production with defence requirements is a continuous race. It is necessary to indicate the extent of assistance rendered by the civil sector in building up our self-sufficiency. The Department of Defence Supplies which was created towards the end of 1965 has placed orders for nearly 12,000 items of a total value of Rs. 86 Crores. Most of these are items which were hitherto imported, but these include a substantial number of items indigenously designed for the armed forces.

Production of new equipment is bound to take time. Defence stores and equipment are subject to very stringent specifications as they have to be effective in such varying climatic conditions as 40° C to + 40° C and the humid climatic conditions of the cost as also in the dry desert areas. Special steps have also been taken to organise a series of ancillary industries which can serve as an adjunct to the ordnance factories so that the total production of arms, ammunition and equipment now concentrated in the ordnance factories can be increased substantially. All the departmental undertakings and defence public sector undertakings have already been asked to prepare lists of items whose production can be established in the ancillary industries.

It is important that efforts at improvements and further development of equipment are organised simultaneously with the lines of production to catch up with the contemporary trends of military technology in the world. Moreover, no country can be truly self-reliant on borrowed technology. The eventual aim has to be-to design and develop our weapon systems. The importance of this has not been lost sight of in our country. During the last ten years, the Defence Research and Development Organisation has grown into 31 major establishments employing about 1500 scientists in various disciplines. The Research and Development budget has risen from a mere Rs. 3.17 crores in 1961–62 to Rs. 22.17 crores during the current year and is likely to double itself by 1975–76.

The foregoing analyses should not give an impression that we are in an ideal state in regard to defence preparedness and self-sufficiency in defence equipment. But we have built up a very sound and expanding base for meeting future requirements of the armed forces, We have achieved a great deal of self-sufficiency and a measure of self-realiance.

The accepted aim of self-reliance is being progressively translated into specific programmes. To achieve this, we have adopted the concept of 'Rollon Plan'. Roll-on-Plan it means that the year that is past, is struck off and in its place another year is added to the five year time-spectrum, thus emphasising the continuity of the process. There is also a wider perspective of the years which runs over the whole of the seventies. With the cycle of development of weapons extending to eight years and in the case of sophisticated aircraft

and naval vessels even longer, a five-year forecast is obviously inadequate.

It must be appreciated that the task of equipping modern armed forces is stupendous. Those entrusted with this task are incessantly confronted with major technological problems, apart from the limitation of resources. Due to technological changes, weapons and other military equipment tend to pass rapidly into obsolescence. This necessitates an increasing effort for modernisation in equipment technology. While man continues to be the vital weapon of combat, developments are in fact taking place for substituting the highly vulnerable human mechanism by sophisticated equipment wherever feasible. Complete self-reliance is, therefore, not possible. Notwithstanding these limitations, the country has moved during the last decade into the Seventies with better equipped forces and a quiet confidence in its competence to face the challenge of the future.

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"It there is one man in the country who combines enthusiasm for our big plans and generelly for building up a really economically sound and materially prosperous country, with his mooring set deeply in the spiritual and moral ideals of our religion and culture, it is Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

—Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE*

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The contemporary society may rightly be termed as a society of planned change. While there is a variance in the degree and extent of the operation of the area of planning and development, it will be no exaggeration to say that no country in the world to day is completely free from the regulatory machanisms of one type or the other, which guide the goals and destiny of the people. The regulatory functions of the administrative machinery in such a society are two fold : Firstly, to maintain and sustain the existing social order, to promote the norms and behavioural patterns of the people, and to effectively create the conditions of socialization of the individuals. Secondly, to provide the necessary momentum to the forces of change which are overtly manifest in the present day society.

But before we fully examine the role of administration in social change, it is necessary to understand the concepts of social change and administration, which alone can provide the necessary base to comprehend the totality of change, and the place of administrative machinery in such a change process. Change is an alteration

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* This paper is based upon the talk delivered by the author to the participants of a training programme on Urban Administration conducted by the Regional Centre for Urban Administration, Department of Public Administration, Osmania University.

Issues such as 'Commitment', 'Committed Cadre' and so forth in administration and bureaucracy, have assumed great significance in the recent times. It is increasingly felt that rapid social transformation in the desired direction at the warranted rate of growth can take place only when we have administrative machinery which is committed to professional ethics, competence and social ideology. It may, however, not mean that the administrative machinery need be committed to the party or group in power. But it does mean that the machinery need be committed to social change on the accepted principles of national policy. The present paper is of importance in that context.

in an existing arrangement of parts in a whole. It could either refer to spatial or temporal movement of a unit in one direction or the other. But social change stands for the modification, transformation or alteration of social relationships. For we mean by society, a net-work of social relationships. This alteration in the pattern of social relationships may be total and complete, or partial, it may be sudden or slow. The extent and pace of social change may, however, in turn be conditioned by several factors, such as the ethos of the people, strength of the Gemeinschaft (Primary Group) relationships and the effectiveness of the production process. Any change in the social environment which has no perceptible impact upon the mode and manner of social relationships will be of no vital consequence to us. To illustrate the point, we may take a hypothetical case where the establishment of an industry on the fringe of a town having no effect at all on the pattern of relationships manifest in the town either due to total resistence to change among the people or due to the lack of incentives involved in the new venture and innovation. It is further necessary to know that several types of factors contribute to social change. They may vary from biological factors involving demographic change which in turn tell upon the social structure, to economic factors involving a change in the mode of production and ownership of the means of production. Some times, change may be of uneven nature resulting in a lag between several aspects of the society as demonstrated by the concept of cultural lag. This refers to the uneven development and disproportion, as Ogburn puts it, between 'material' and 'non-material' cultures. Further, culture, may also act as a basic principle of change The religious ethos of a particular denomination which represent the cultural perspectives of that particular group may sometimes be responsible for the transformation of the society from one system of production process to the other, as is illustrated by Max Weber in his theory of Capitalist development. He contends that the religious ethic of Calvinistic Protestant group as conducive to the growth of Capitalist system in western part of Europe. We had so far digressed a little on social change into the contributory factors in order to make the concept of social change fit into proper frame-work of the present discussion. It was, however, not our concern in this context to have any critical appraisal of these theories on social change.

We have to take into account another important aspect of social change, which has got a direct bearing on the present discussion, before we try to comprehend the concept of administration. Whatever might be the contributory factors, as stated earlier, social change is of two orders. These two orders reflect the nature of change and the 'velocity' of change. In the first instance, social change may be considered as an autonomous and self-generative process. It implies that no society is absolutely static. Every society possesses certain in-built mechanisms, which propel the society towards change. These in-built mechanisms bring about, constantly, but slowly and imperceptibly, changes in the sturcture and functions of the society. This is sometimes termed as ' evolution. ' This evolutionary process is considered to comprise 'differentiation' in the socially organized units, and also some sequal of such differentiation. This 'differentiation' acts as a lever for 'integration' of the society through effective division of labour and proper social communication. Another version of autonomous social change is the historical dialecticism of Karl Max. In his dialectical determinism, he considers that, the state of technological development determines the mode of production and the relationship and institutions that constitute economic system. This set of relationships is in turn the chief determinant of the social order'. According to him, it is the social consciousness which determines the individual consciousness, and as such the economic or material conditions which determine the mode of production. This mode of production process involves the economic relations of the 'contradictory' forces in the society, representing the 'vested interests' and 'ideology'. This conflict highlights the role of social revolution at the birth of each new stage in the society. But the transformation of the society through social revolution which hastens the pace of historical economic transformation and development also underlies the other aspect of social change.

This, we call, as planned social change. Planned change is not synonymous with Marxian concept of change. There are other variants of this planned social change. Planning has been defined by Karl Jaspers as 'an arrangement of life with a purpose.' Taken in this way, planning is as old as human organization itself. But planned social change, as we understand today, is purely a mani-

festation of the new forces of social and economic development. This has been made necessary with the fundamental democratization of the society. By the process of fundamental democratization, we have visualized and witnessed an enormous phenomenon of the active involvement of certain classes in the social order, which had hitherto been playing a very passive role in the social affairs. This refers to the rise of masses and emergence of mass society. Social elites no more guide the affairs of the society. This calls for new dimensions in the formulations and administration of the programmes and activities of the people.

Now we turn to the term 'administration'. Administration as a process refers to the mechanisms through which a given system of Values and Norms are maintained, or mechanisms which conceive the operationalization of several legislative measures, aiming at the betterment of social order.

It also refers to the executive procedures of several decisions taken either by those who are responsible for the implementation itself, or by others who are specially constituted for the purpose. Here we don't intend to give more than an operational definition of of the concept of administration. Administration has by necessity to be a dynamic process. It has to underlie the ethos of the social order, as also display sound Judgement of alternatives available for implementation. It has to comprehend the several forces criss-crossing the social fabric and the method and mode of social and economic relations.

This brings us to the changing structure of administrative process. The administrative process would be of one order where the changes in the society are slow, and where a certain degree of social equilibrium of the forces operating in the society is attained. In this context, we refer to the near static society. The social order in such a case rests by and large on settled norms, mores, values and philosophy of the people. The social interaction process involving the individuals and groups is predictable and, therefore, administration in such a society has to be rightly 'executive' in character. It must help the society to maintain its equilibrium. It should arrest and check any trends towards maladjustment and disintegration of the social order and social complex. The administration functions with framework of rules. Here the decision making

generally rests with 'select' set of people. Administrative machinery in such a state of affairs, functions on minimal level. This is equally true of a society subject to slow autonomous change whose effects are visible in the long run. The administrator has only 'Police' functions and has to keep a constant 'vigil' to avert any administrative lapses.

But a planned social order involves active participation of larger sections of the people in the production, distribution and administrative processes of the society. It means that the administrative machinery has to simultaneously conceive the sustenance of the social order, and also the promotion of the welfare of the larger masses of people on the basis of their goals and objects. This brings us to the stage of planning and development. which has to take into account the 'imputed needs' of the people, as well as the 'felt needs' of the people. While we agree that the goal of planned society is to bring about an improvement in the social and economic conditions of the people, so as to provide the healthy environment for the individual to realise his whilesome personality (considerations of 'felt needs') we have also to take the telescopic faculty of an individual into account in fixing the targets and the goals. This calls for the technique of imputed needs. Whereas imputed needs represent the total and perspective planning of the social order, felt needs of the people also have to find adequate place in the planning process. It means that we must strike a happy balance between imputed needs and felt needs of the people in the planning strategy.

Such a planning process necessarily works on the basis of sound administrative machinery. This administrative machinery has to travel from the concept of 'Executive function' to the concept of 'Managerial function'. The new administrative set-up has to work as effective change agent, combining within its scope entrepreneurial acumen and initiative. Administration should be capable of initiative and innovativeness, which involve risks. Security alone cannot be a guiding principle. This is the requirement of planned social change as against autonomous social evolution. This calls for greater vigilence as well appreciation of the aspirations and motivations of the people which can take them to higher levels of living and existence.

A major shift in the focus and emphasis of administrative processes in both the developing and developed societies concerns

the enlargement of the scope of administrative machinery. Several areas which had, hitherto, had minimal or no contact with the administrative machinery have come within the ambit of administrative interaction in the new context. The informal structure of the society of the preplanning phase gives way to formal contractual relations which necessitate a well-defined administrative and legal frame work in order to regulate the new patterns of relations. The new social structure envisages an increased role for the governmental in different aspects of the social operations. To illustrate the point, we can take the example of agriculture and agricultural operations. In the past, agriculture as a vocation was purely an individual affair or at best a community affair. But with the programmes of agricultural development several developmental and administrative functionaries have come into existence even in theremote parts of the country side. This has increased, further, to great proportions with the 'green revolution'. Thus we can rarely perceive that the sphere of administrative frame work is spreading into far and isolated corners of social order. Another factor which merits our attention pertains to the vertical integration of the governmental machinery. For the first time, the developing society in India witnessed the integration of administrative machinery from the village level to the national level with well-formulated and articulate linkages. This opened up new vistas of opportunities for the people to form part of the administrative process. When the area and scope of administration was increased, proportionately the problems and involvement of administration has also increased, resulting in the greater and more extensive participation of the people in the administratlve framework. Under these circumstances, it is but imperative that administrative machinery should wear a new look to suit the changing social perspectives. Thus administrative machinery must pick up the idiom and ethos of planning and development. The adminisration in the developing societies has to make rigorous analysis and assessment of inputs and outputs in every conceivable development activity. In the process, administrative personnel have to develop objectivity and rationality which are concomitant features of research. Thus, administration has to gain several dimensions to meet the challenges of the developing societies. Edward Widner has, therefore, rightly pleaded for an action-oriented and goal-oriented development administration in a planned social order.

PANCHAYATI RAJ AT CROSS ROADS

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Panchayati Raj in Andhra Pradesh has become a subject of controversy since the formation of the Ministry after the 1972 Assembly elections. Important Ministers in the State have been very critical, in their speeches, of the working of Panchayati Raj institutions. In the legislature also, the members have been expressing sceptical views about the utility of these institutions. " Several members in the Legislative Assembly, including those belonging to the ruling party to-day demanded the abolition of Panchayati Raj system in the state", says a press report of the proceedings of the recent debate in the Assembly on the Budget demands relating to Community Development.[1]

In the light of such wide spread scepticism about Panchayati Raj, it is necessary to examine the criticisms which are levelled against them. They have to be examined in the light of the objectives of Panchayati Raj institutions. In 1959, when these Institutions were created it was clearly indicated that their main purpose was to associate the representatives of the people with decision-making in development programmes at local levels. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee which examined the whole issue of working of community development in this country was of the opinion that as the development programmes could not be implemented effectiveiy by the bureaucracy, there was a need to associate the representatives of the people with them. In our State Panchayati Raj has been in existence since 1959. But it appears that during the last 13 years they have not been given any peaceful time; they have been subjected to frequent evaluation of some kind or the other. For instance, in 1964, the High-power Committee on the Delimitation of the Blocks considered some as aspects of Panchayat Samithis. After this Committee, the second Administrative Reforms Committee headed by the then Revenue Minister, Mr. M. Ramchandra Reddy,

1. "Scrap Panchayati Raj plea," **The Deccan Chronicle, July 14, 1972.**

also evaluated their working and suggested several reforms in the set-up of the Panchayati Raj. Then came the M. T. Raju Committee, which though ostensibly did not affect Panchayati Raj, its purpose was to tone up Panchayati Raj administration. Its recommendations were immediately implemented by the Government and the Zilla Development Boards were created in the Districts whose main concern was to plan agricultural and industrial development programmes. Yet another was the Report of the Congress Legislature Party whose convenor was Mr. J. Vengal Rao. This Report examined the criticism levelled against Panchayati Raj and has suggested a number of changes in its set-up. Now again, the Government have appointed another Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. Narasimham to evaluate the working of Panchayati Raj bodies. It is thus obvious that these institutions have been subjected to constant evaluation, but the recommendations of the evaluation committees have never been taken seriously by the Government. For, none of their recommendations have so far been implemented.

It is often argued that the performance of Panchayati Raj Institutions is not satisfactory. This is a very sweeping statement, which must be analysed carefully, Let us examine some of the criticisms levelled against Panchayati Raj in our state. They are: (a) these institutions are controlled by vested interest and weaker sections have been neglected; (b) they are inefficient; (c) there is misuse of authority in these institutions; (d) they are corruption–ridden; there are malpractices in Panchayat elections and that they create factions in villages; (f) there is no economic development; and (g) there is more politics and less development in Panchayati Raj bodies.

We may now take up these criticisms for detailed consideration :–

(a) **Control by the Vested Interests** : It is generally believed that Panchayati Raj institutions are in the hands of vested interests but this applies only to the higher level bodies, i.e. the Zilla Parishads. A study of the 'social background of the political executives of the Panchayati Raj' conducted by us, reveals that this is true in the case of the higher level institutions only ; but at the

Panchayat level majority of the sarpanches belong to middle class whose annual income is less than Rs. 2,500. Another recent study published by the NICD reveals that at the Panchayat level the leadership is drawn mainly from weaker sections.[2] However, the charge that they are controlled by the vested interests is a general one and is applicable to all democratic institutions in the country and Panchayati Raj bodies are not an exception.

(b) **Inefficiency** : It is doubtful whether Panchayati Raj institutions are more inefficient than the Govt. departments. In fact, the Panchayati Raj institutions were created because the bureaucracy did not give a good account of itself prior to 1956 in implementing the development programmes. Speaking theoretically also, decentralization of power should lead to more efficiency and not inefficiency.

(c) **Misuse of authority** : It is very often pointed out that Panchayati Raj functionaries misuse the authority vested in them. In this connection, the transfers of teachers are cited as evidence by the critics of Panchayati Raj. There appears to be some substance in this criticism. But the Panchayati Raj functionaries have their own version to give by way of explanation. Therefore, one has to go deep into it without making generalizations.

(d) **Corruption** : The allegation is that corruption is widespread in these institutions. Without going into the truth or otherwise of this phenomenon, one is tempted to raise the question: Is corruption the monopoly of the Panchayati Raj bodies only? Are the other Government departments, where Panchayati Raj does not figure in, free from corruption? Here we would only mention the names of such departments as forest, excise and commercial taxes. It is for the observers of our social and political systems to make a fair evaluation of the not oriety of these institutions and also of Panchayati Raj in matters of corruption.

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2. G. Ram Reddy and K. Seshadri, **The Voter and Panchayati Raj** (Nationl Institution of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1972.)

(e) **Mal-practices:** It is true that mal-practices have been noticed in the Panchayati Raj elections. It is a common knowledge that voters are bribed and Sarpanchas are kidnapped. But are the elections for other democratic institutions free from mal-practice? Malpractices are prevalent in all elections and it is unfair to singleout only Panchayati Raj bodies.

(f) **Economic development:** It is widely accepted that not much economic development has taken place; but we should examine the role of Panchayati Raj institutions in economic development. Realistically speaking, all the programmes are formulated at the State level and handed down to Panchayati Raj bodies. They are no more than distributing and executive agencies, that too under the close supervision of the State Government machinery. If something is wrong with these bodies what has the supervising machinery been doing? Further, the creation of the Zilla Development Board under the Chairmanship of the Collector which is now charged with the responsibility of economic development, has also not produced any better results.

(g) Finally, it is pointed out that these institutions have become sub-centres of political power and are being used as power mechanisms; in other words, they have become purely political institutions. This is no doubt, a statement of fact, but no democratic institution is free from politics of some kind or other and there is no use of painting romantic picture about Panchayati Raj being free from polity. It may be said that Panchayati Raj is neither a paragon of all virtue nor a dragon of destruction. Like other institutions of this nature at the State and National level it has its quota of achievements and failures.

This does not mean that there is no scope for reform in Panchayati Rai. There are several areas which need drastic changes such as the method of election of the political executives, the procedures of work, the role of the bureaucracy and the finances of

these bodies. These should be carefully examined and defects rectified. In any large scale attempt of this nature, there are bound to be shortcomings and imperfections. Wisdom lies in constantly being aware of them and finding out solutions.

Romantic notions apart, Panchayati Raj has a rightful place in the administrative and political set-up of the country as the rural self-governing institutions. As professor Robson, the fabian socialist, observes: "Few people today appear to understand the essential role of Local Government in the welfare state. I cannot apprehend how a **society can call itself a welfare State unless it strived to ensure the widest possible participation by citizens in the exercise of political power** and the making of executive decisions. **Local government is the best possble instrument to distribute power widely and on democractic lines"**. The Estimates Committees of Andhra Pradesh which submitted a report on Panchayathi Raj has made the following observation: "Whatever may be the shortcomings either in design or the functioning of Panchayathi Raj institutions, it has created considerable awakening in the villages and contributed for the evaluation, development or emergence of young and educated local leadership in many of these institutions." The Administrative Reforms Commission which has submitted a report on State Administration has also dealt with Panchayati Raj. It is critical of some of the aspects of these institutions and has suggested improvement in the system of election, recruitment of personnel bureaucracy at the district level and finances of Panchayati Raj bodies. The Commission, however, has not questioned the utility of Panchayati Raj bodies. On the other hand, this expert body has taken it for granted that Panchayati Raj institutions have a useful role to play. Scrapping Panchayati Raj is a counsel of despair. What is needed is a thorough re-examination of certain practices to tone up their efficiency.

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GANDHIAN INFLUENCE IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

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KHADI VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION

Mahatma Gandhi was a great votary of truth. It, therefore, behoves us to be truthful in the assement of the great savant's influence in Independent India.

That is why one has to reckon with the most unpleasant truth that the Mahatmas' influence is more a force of the past and of likely future, rather than the one prevalent at the present time.

Even so, one or two powerful currents of public life owing their inspiration to Gandhian approach are noteworthy. If those trends succeed in having their impact, it is likely that a large part of our social-economic-political life will have undergone a transformation on sarvodaya lines.

I am refering to the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement led by Acharya Vinobha Bhave and the modern miracle of surrender by dacoits at Chambal Valley to Jayaprakash Narayan. These two events are epoch-making.

At a time when the air is full of discussion on land ceilings, I would implore one and all to examine what happened very near here in three Panchayat Samithi areas of Mahaboobnagar District. I shall describe what I had occasion to witness.

Batches of Gandhian workers visited the villages and gave the message of sarvodaya. People hailed them, sheltered them in modest comfort and arranged meetings attended by one and all in the village.

What was preached and understood at these meetings had been expressed symbolically in posters which contained items like these :

"Establish Gramaswaraj in your village. These are the six basic ideas of gramaswaraj: I) Gramsabha which functions on its own. 2) Police and courts would be gradually eliminated. 3) Partyless representation of villages in Gramsabha. 4) Village oriented economy. 5) Education free from restrictions. 6) Equality of all rellgions."

"Jai Jagat. What is Gramadan? a) All the adults of the village have to create their gramsabha. b) Fortieth portion of every person's income must be set apart for village development, c) The landed ones have to give away twentieth portion of their land to the landlesss in the village without conpensation. d) Land in the village should not be sold to people outside the village. e) Land in the village entirely belongs to the village. f) Gramdan is the nerve–centre of Gramswaraj.

If this refrain of the rural folk proves infectious and catches the urban folk, movements like 'My concern is my Joy' are likely to grow inside every commercial and industrial establishment. That would make a difference thereafter in the conduct of such concerns.

The schools and colleges provide another useful field of activity in this way. Student unrest is caused by a divisive approach. Gandhin approach stands for cohesion and an unitive endeavour.

The trade union movement is now in a bad shape. This mess is caused again by tht divisive approach. Instead of the service motive the dominating motive came to govern the conduct of the party manager of labour unions. Every political party specialised in bringing into its fold sections of working classes. But, in Ahmedabad the textile labour union founded by Mahatma Gandhi conducted itself in an ideal way.

At the moment, all those who work amongst students and labour, must have to adopt a code of conduct by way of Gandhian approach.

Gandhiji stood for a human approach while others advocated a blatantly partisan approach. The latter invitably led to catastrophic consequences.

Today none is sure whether a bank, an educational institution or an industrial or comercial establishment, will ever work or close down any day.

Deviation from Gandhian standards had led the country to its doom in every domain of social activity.

These days we are talking of and training to act on what is known as secularism. Gandhiji paved the way for way for the same through, his Ashram BHAJANAVALI which was an indicator of the Mahatma's principle of **sarvadharma samanathva.**

To Gandhiji true religion was essential for every one. All religions are to be respected. Whether we have adopted true religion as our way of life or not, we do at least respect all religions. In civic affairs religion, that is, any particular religion is not favoured. People of all religions are equal before the law.

We may as well improve this performance by promoting a Fellowship of Faiths. It is highly essential that we understand each other's religion. This will go a long way in eliminating religious bigotry and humanising the conduct of religionist themselves.

Recent events have borne witness to the fact that a rigid way of adhering to one's own religion is likely to bring about harmfull results. The remedy for such a stupid and dangerous view, is not to condemn the faith itself but to successfully campaign for more healthy outlook. For this purpose, Gandhian approach is very handy.

Have we not seen how Gandhiji, being a devout Hindu himself, mesmerised his co-religionists into accepting the **Dharma** of the necessity of abolishing untouchability? Issue may be joined by some extremists that even now Harijans are being subjected to hardships and so untouchability is not wiped out. We answer that untouchability as an accepted form of social conduct melted away long ago but still we have to be vigilant, lest some obscurantist forces in in the rural areas abuse their vantage positions and act cruelly towards Harijans. Here again Gandhiji's teaching has to be invoked and enforced.

INDIA : NEW VISTAS OF PROGRESS

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In the almost quarter century since the historic day in August 1947, when the national flag of India was hoisted over the ancient Red Fort, the aspect of this vast country and the life of its 550 million people have changed more than in many preceding centuries. Overcoming the onerous legacy of two centuries of colonial domination, the Indian people have laid a solid foundation for independent national development and have made considerable progress.

Hundreds of new industrial enterprises have been built, key branches, including iron and steel and engineering, have been developed virtually from scratch. And if not so long ago India imported all the industrial plant she needed, today such equipment is becoming an increasingly important export item. Powerful dams thrown across rivers have made it possible to irrigate many thousands of hectares and generate millions of kilowatt-hours of electric power. Life in the Indian village is beginning to change, although very slowly as yet. Electricity has been provided 100,000 v llages (out of 600,000) and more than 100,000 tractors are now working in the fields. Last year two million tons of mineral fertilizers were used All these figures, of course, are by no means large for a country of India's size. Nevertheless, agricultural output this year will be approximately doubled (105–106 million tonnes of grain), in view of which grain imports will be stopped next year. There are definite achievements in the health services, the educational system is being extended at all levels, and the trainining of national technical and scientific personnel has heen organized.

All these successes are a result of the progressive orientation of independent India's policy, the main outlines of which were charted during the struggle for independence. This policy is inseverably associated with the name of the great fighter for India's freedom and development, her first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who was inspired by the ideal of social progress and was a long-time

and sincere friend of the Soviet Union. Fruitful co-operation with the U. S. S. R. and other countries of the socialist community has played an important part in the emergence of the Indian state sector and the laying of the foundation for industrialization. More than 60 industrial projects have been or are being built in India with Soviet assistance, rendered in the form of loans on easy terms, which the Indian side repays with its goods. "The Soviet Union has helped our plans for attaining indepencence through the development of heavy industry," Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stated recently.

SIGNAL ACHIEVEMENTS

While acknowlodging the signal achievements in independent national development, Indian progressives at the same time point to the socially contradictory nature of that development and to the existence of major problems yet to be solved. The present economic growth rates are considered insufficient, especially in view of the rapid population increase. The national income has risen during the years of independence, but per capital income continues to be one of the lowest in the world and, moreover, is distributed unevenly and unjustly. For the bulk of the working population life is still very hard. And this is by no means the result only of the colonial legacy, it is due also to the contraductions of bourgeois development.

Owing to the relationship of socio-political forces that existed in the country and within the ruling Indian National Congress (INC) during the first twenty years of independence, the poor organization of the masses and the absence of unity among the progressive forces, many of the provisions of the INC programme, were carried out only in part or not at all. Landed estates in the countryside were only partly eliminated. The feudal-landowner aristocracy, including the former princes, retained various privileges and continued to wield considerable social influence. The partial land reforms of the 1950's and the government's measures for promoting agriculture in the mid 1960's benefited chiefly the richer sections of the peasantry and the big landowners who engage in capitalist farming. The rich upper crust of the village (farms having more than 12 hectares, 3.2 per cent of the total) own 24 per cent of all the land, while poor and middle peasent farms (up to 2 hectares, 62 per cent of the total)

hold only 19 per cent of the land, and 22 per cent of the families–poor peasants and agricultural labourers–have no land at all.

In the cities, alongside the growth of the working class and an increase In the number of workers employed at state enterprises, various bourgeois strata emerged. Despite the definite restrictive influence exerted by the state sector, including state regulation of capital investments, the upper crust of the bourgeoisie–a small group of Indian monopolists usually closely linked with foreign monopoly capital–has grown particularly strong. By 1968, 75 of the biggest Indian companies (out of 25,000 private firms) owned 54 per cent of all the assets of the private sector. It was precisely this monopoly top Group of the bourgeoisie that became the main vehicle of imperialist influence, the centre of attraction for all reactionary forces (landowners, former princes, conservative elements in the state machine, religious and communal reactionary forces and so on).

PRO–IMPERIALIST FORCES

Seeking to establish their power, the reactionary pro-imperialist forces operated primarily through the oligarchic group of Right-wing leaders (the so-called "Syndicate") in the ruling party itself, and through such openly reactionary parties as Jan Sangh and Swatantra. The concessions which the Indian and foreign monopolies wrested from the government at that time and also the continued predominance of the landowner-bourgeois upper crust in the village were the main cause of the serious crisis in the Indian economy at the end of the 1960's which worsened the plight of the working people.

Meanwhile, in the course of the country's independent development, the masses of India gradually began to shed their age-old submissiveness and to acquire political awareness. That is why the reactionary offensive of recent years has encountered such a resolute rebuff on the part of the masses, with the Communist Party of India (CPI) as the initiator. The number of strikes and student actions increased notably, and general strikes were held in the big cities. In 1970, a wide campaign of struggle by the poor peasantry forland was conducted throughout the country on the initiative and under the leadership of the Indian communists.

The lower and partly the middle sections of the bourgeoisie have also offered growing political resistance to the onslaught of the

monopolies. At first the indignation of the people was directed chiefly against the Indian National Congress as the ruling party, which sharply weakened its positions after the 1967 elections to Parliament and especially to the Legislative Assemblies of the states. But popular indignation was still largely spontaneous and was often utilized by the Right-wing parties for their own ends. At the same time small groups of the Maoist brand became more active, employing terrorist methods which, like the adventuristic policy of some Leftist parties, actually played into the hands of the reactionary forces.

After the 1967 elections, local governments were formed in most states without the participation of Congressists. In some of them Right-wing parties prevailed, but more often the majority consisted of Left forces, including the CPI and the local democratic parties. For different reasons, (among them the desire of some parties to improve their positions at the expense of their coalition partners, is out) these governments were usually unstable. Nevertheless their positive activity in the interests of the working people promoted the growth of the democratic movement.

REFORMS ADVOCATED

All this taken together stimulated the activity of progressive and democratic forces within the ruling party itself, forces advocating democratic socio-economic reforms. Their persistent struggle under the leadership of the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi resulted in the defeat of the oligarchic "Syndicate" in the Indian National Congress. Forced to leave the INC in the autumn of 1969, this group discarded its mask and, with other Rightist parties, formed a reactionary bloc.

The new alignment and new relationship of the socio-political forces in the country also created new possibilities for the co-operation and cohesion of the democratic forces in the struggle against pro-imperialist reactionaries and for social progress. In the parliamentary elections last March, the Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India and several other democratic parties joined forces in a number of states. This brought them victory and a crushing defeat for the Right-wing bloc which retained only one-third of its former seats. Soon after the elections the local Right-wing governments collapsed in several states.

Continuing and developing the progressive course steered by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Government of Indira Gandhi has undertaken a number of important socio-economic measures. The big private banks have been nationalized and state control instituted over Indian and foreign insurance companies, with a view to their subsequent nationalization. The state import monopoly has been greatly extended (up to 85 per cent of all the imports). The state sector is being expanded through a certain redistribution in its favour of the national accumulation fund, and some new restrictions have been imposed on the activity of the monopolies The government has submitted to Parliament a bill on amendments to the Constitution designed to limit the right of the big bourgeoisie to private ownership of the means of production, and to facilitate socio-economic reforms.

FRENZIED RESISTANCE

It goes without saying that the socio-economic reforms are meeting with frenzied resistance on the part of the reactionary conservative forces, which, notwithstanding the recent defeat of the Right-wing parties in the general elections, still hold considerable positions in political and economic life and are regrouping their forces. Their efforts are aimed at obtaining concessions for the monopolies, and preventing further agrarian reforms in the countryside, the need for which is insistently emphasized by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The Indian press points out that the Indian National Congress itself is far from homogeneous, that it includes no few conservative elements and following the recent election victory, it has been joined by 'turncoats' from Right-wing parties. Nevertheless, representatives of progressive national-bourgeois circles who understand the aspirations and needs of the masses predominate in the INC.

That is why the Draft Political Resolution, submitted to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India which was in session in Cochin (Kerala) on October 3, points to the need "not only to unite the Left parties, but also to find common ground, as well as to develop common actions, with the democratic forces within the ruling Congress, wherever possible even with the Congress organization." Unfortunately, among the Indian Left parties there are some whose leadership has not yet realized this need, and in their policy proceed from narrow party interests or

adventuristic motives, which hampers the unity of the progressive forces. Incidentally, these parties are themselves the first to suffer from such a shortsighted policy, as was graphically demonstrated by the recent parliamentary elections. For example, the socialists who, motivated by "blind anti-Congressism", as they say in India, went to the polls in alliance with Right-wing parties and shared the latter's defeat. It is natural therefore that a desire to revise the wrong positions is maturing among supporters of these parties.

The Draft Political Resolution submitted to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India, setting the aim of uniting the progressive forces both outside and within the INC., emphasizes the need to organize and mobilize the masses to overcome the resistance of the Right forces, and fight for farreaching socio-economic reforms which would make it possible to lead the country onto the non-capitalist path of development. The Draft draws attention to the significance of the "independent militant class role and mass activity of the Party."

FRIENDLY SUPPORT

India has traversed a difficult path of struggle for national freedom and consolidation of national independence. Today new vistas of progress open up before this great Asian country. But the problems facing her are formidable. Moreover, they are aggravated by the heightening of tension on her frontiers, and the influx of a great mass of refugees from East Pakistan (more than 9 million).

The Soviet Union, following the behests of Lenin, has invariably rendered, and is rendering, friendly support to India in the consolidation of her independence and the promotion of her progress. The recently concluded Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation meets the fundamental interests of both our countries. Contributing to peace and security in Asia and the world over, it has become an important link in contemporary international relations. No forces can now build their policy – whether in regard to the U.S.S.R. or to Indian – without taking account of this treaty.

All true friends of the Indian people wish them to achieve firm unity of the democratic and progressive forces for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing them in their struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

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INDIA'S CHANGING IMAGE ABROAD
1947 - 1972

K. P. S. MENON
PRESIDENT, LALIT KALA AKADEMI, NEW DELHI.

It is hard for a man to see himself as others see him. It is even harder for a oman, who likes to see herself in the best light in the eyes of other woman and especially of men. It is hardest of all for a nation to see itself as others see it.

But must we see ourselves as others see us? Must we, at any rate, mould ourselves into the shape which others have, or would like to have, of us? It is good to be sensitive to world opinion, but foolish to be hyper-sensitive.

What, after all, is world opinion? Let me take a flagrant example. Can world opinion be said to have been reflected in the voting in the General Assembly on the American resolution, which was brought forward at a time when the Indian forces and Mukti Bahini were within an ace of victory and which would have obliged them to withdraw from Bangla Desh? Already some 3 million men had been massacred, 20,000 women raped and 10 million people driven to seek refuge in India. If the American resolution had been implemented, the process of genocide, elitocide killing the elite among the people, assault and rape would have continued. Yet no less than 104 member states of the United Nations voted in favour of the resolution!

What is the explanation? A handful voted for the resolution because they believed in peace at any price, though peace won at any price is seldom lasting. Others did not dare to vote against the resolution, because they had their own skeletons in the cupboard. Many had dictatorial regimes and therefore could not be expected to condemn the dictatorship of Yahya Khan. Many were tiny states, susceptible to the persuasion and pressure of the great powers. As Mr. Yakob Malik, Soviet Representative to the U.N, pointed out, 88 out of the 104 states which voted for the resolution had a population less than the number of refugees from Bangla Desh into

India. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the USA was able to muster so large a number of votes in its favour. What was surprising and refreshing was that both in the Security Council and General Assembly Great Britain and France abstained from voting, even though they were close allies of the USA in NATO, CENTO and SEATO. They, however were unable to go so far as the USSR and other Socialist States, which expressed their forthright opposition to the American resolution and voted against it.

The fact is that the so-called world opinion is an intangible and sometimes unreliable guide to action. A country must not worry unduly over its image abroad, provided it sticks to certain principles, of which the first must be the national interest.

Not that I am suggesting that world opinion should be ignored altogether. Nor is "the image of India abroad" an idle phrase. However differently different countries may look at a particular country, something like a common estimate begins gradually to emerge and it will be unwise to ignore it. If it is a favourable estimate, it should be an incentive for us to continue in our chosen path; if not, we must ask ourselves why it is unfavourable and whether any action or inaction on our part is responsible for it.

India is in the 25th year of her independence. Looking back at those 25 years, we must admit that the image of India in the second half of this period was different from its image in the first decade. In the fifties the world held India in greater esteem than was warranted by her strength. In the sixties the reverse was the case. Now there is a greater correlation between our strength and our image abroad. And provided we are careful, this is likely to continue.

In the fifties, a number of factors operated in India's favour. There was universal appreciation of the civilized and non–violent manner in which India had won independence. There was a halo around the heads of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, which cast a holy light even on the lesser heads around them. The skill and smoothness with which hundreds of Princely States, some as France and many having armies of their own, were integrated into India evoked admiration even on the part of their former protectors. The policy of non–alignment made an appeal to many an Asian and

African State which, in the rivalries and conflicts produced by the cold war, found itself in a unenviable predicament, indicated in the Burmese proverb, "Buffaloes fight and the grass is destroyed". Above all, India demonstrated through the conduct of her general elections that democracy was viable in Asia, thus disproving President Ayub Khan's contention that democracy based on adult sufferage, might be all right for the phlegmatic peoples of the North, but not for the emotional, hot-blooded peoples of Asia and Africa, for whom some form of basic democracy or guided democracy is better suited.

The success of India's policy of non-alignment, despite J. F. Dulles' denunciation of it as "short-sighted immoral", gave India a sense of complacency; and we were apt to forget that we were still living in an era of power politics. The Chinese attack on India in 1962 was a traumatic event which took us unawares. Jawaharlal Nehru then said with a courage and candour, rare in statesmen, that "we have been living in a fool's paradise of our own making."

It took us some time to get out of the fool's paradise, for it takes time to acquire the necessary strength to live among power-greedy nations. In the sixties India lacked not only strength but cohesion. The Congress was the one political organisation which could ensure the stability and progress of the country. But it had become hopelessly heterogeneous, parties began to split into groups; and evils such as defectionism and opportunism were rampant. Smt. Gandhi realised that her first task was to set her house in order and did so with a vengeance. She formed the New Congress, dedicated to the truly national policies of her father and herself. And in the general elections of 1971, and later, in the elections to the State Legislatures, the people of India showed unmistakably that they were behind her.

These developments took place in the nick of time, because great dangers were in store for India in the beginning of the present decade. The events of the last unforgettable year are fresh in our minds and it is unnecessary to dwell on them at length. Suffice it to say that the nation has emerged out of the ordeal not only unscathed but truimphant.

Our armed forces fought with perfect discipline and boundless heroism. The air force, which, at the height of the war, made as many as 500 sorties a day, covered itself with glory; it put out the entire Pakistan air force in the eastern sector out of action in 2 or 3 days. The navy moved right up to Karachi and bombarded the port installations and destroyed oil storages. The Indian army liberated 53,000 square miles, inhabited by 75 million people, in 13 days – a feat comparable to, if not greater than that of Israel which in June, 1967 occupaid 26,000 square miles in 6 days. Whereas the Israeli-army operated in a sparsely populated area, which was mostly desert, the Indian army had to operate in the most difficult terrain, densely inhabited and criss-crossed with rivers and canals. "If you want to see how a modern war should be fought," said a commentator over the B.B.C., "go to India". The operations of the Indian army, said another commentator, were characterised by flexibility, ferocity and speed, and some of its feats have established a record in military history. The relations between the civilians and the armed forces were exactly as they should be. The Government gave clear political directions to the army but never interfered in the actual conduct of war.

The timing before and during the war was perfect, and every step was carefully taken. One of the most effective steps which the Government of India took was the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace, Friendhsip and Cooperation with the Soviet Union. In the severest crisis which faced India since her independence, the Soviet Union stood by her like a rock.

Once our objective was obtained in the eastern sector, Smt. Gandhi declared a cease–fire in the west showing that it was not a part of her design to acquire territory belonging to Pakistan. This was confirmed in the recent Summit Meeting when India readily returned 5000 square miles of terriotry which her been conquered in the western sector by the Indian forces.

In those days cohesion was the keynote of our national life. Cabinet Members, Members of Parliament and the entire nation stood like one man, refusing to be scared even by the move of the US Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, and there was perfect communal harmony in India. The net result of the war is the that cause of freedom and democracy has gained in Asia. At a great meeting in

Trafalgar Square in 1930 Nehru, then the enfant terrible in Indian politics, declared, "Freedom, like Peace, is indivisible." The conflict between Bangla Desh and West Pakistan was essentially a conflict between democracy, secularism, and anti–colonialism on the one hand and authoritarianism, theocracy, ethnic arrogance and subservience to imperialism on the other. The triumph of the former will continue to have repercussion throughout Asia and Africa.

There is little doubt that the events of 1971 have raised India's prestige in the world. Our stature today is different from what it was in the second decade after India's indepenedence and even higher than in the first. There are some States which still refuse to reconcile themselves to India's enhanced status in Asia and the world, but even they will begin to realize that they cannot resist for long the tide of history and the compulsions of geo-politics.

*

"As far as I understand it, religion lays stress on this inner change and considers outward change as but the projection of this inner development. There can be no doubt that this inner development powerfully influences the outer environment. But it is equally obvious that the outer environment powerfully influences the inner development.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

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THE INVISIBLE REVOLUTION

V. R. NARLA
EDITOR, ANDHRA JYOTHI

A revolution of far greater significance than the Green Revolution is taking place in India. When complete, that revolution would alter the very texture and nature of Indian life. Yet, why is it left unnoticed, uncommented?

Unlike the Green Revolution, it is something invisible, for it is taking place in the minds of men, especially those who are Hindus. And those men are neither educated nor articulate. They constitute the millions who for untold ages are disowned, disinherited and down-trodden, the millions who are made to believe that they have to blame themselves for their inferior status, for their poor and wretched lot.

Though as yet subconsciously, these millions are now astir. For over half a century now, and more so, since India emerged as an independent nation in 1947, they are progressively losing faith in the old and iniquitous doctrines of karma and rebirth.

Invented by some evil genius, these two diabolically clever doctrines justify social inequality and injustice, Why is one an untouchable? Because, of one's own sins in earlier births. Why is one poor? Again, because of one's own misdeeds in past lives. Why are the major sections of the community inferior in every way to a small privileged. dominant minority? Yet again, because of their own accumulated evil karma pursuing them from birth to birth.

Based as they are on what one may call the pesudo scientific principle of action and reaction or casuality, the doctrines of karma and rebirth have made the masses of India the willing dupes of a cruel and unjust social order. But for the grip of these doctrines, there should have already been a series of bloody revolutions for ending what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has called "the graded inequalities" of the Hindu society.

Thanks to the slow but steady spread of the spirit of modernism, the long delayed revolution of the masses has at last started. They may not themselves be fully aware that what they are up against are the age-old doctrines of *karma* and rebirth. But the very fact that they are not only demanding but fighting for social equality and justice shows that they are no longer accepting the traditional axiom that their miserable plight is of their own making. They may not have heard of the leaders of the American Revolution and of their Declaration of Independence. Still, they have come to feel instinctively "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" are self-evident truths.

True, for the time being the revolution that is on is assuming some undesirable and ugly forms. But out of the present processions, demonstrations, strikes, bandhs, gheraoes and hartals out of the prevailing tendency for taking law into on's own hands, a new society and a new man will ultimately emerge.

That end will be reached quicker and with infinitely less violence if only the elite are less stupid, superstitious–and selfish. Unlike the masses, they should consciously and categorically forswear faith in the false, unjust and pernecious doctrines of karma and rebirth. They should try to evolve a new religion and a new philosophy based on human liberty, human equality and human dignity. They should assume the leadership of the unprecedented and far-reaching revolution that is taking place in the minds of men; to take a stand against it, to try foolishly and rashly to stem it, is to be swept aside and flung on the dust heap of history.

★

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expressess my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the next of the difference, is no democracy."

—Abraham Lincoln

THE IMPORTANCE OF SANSKRIT STUDIES IN INDIA

DR. V. RAGHAVAN
PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT (Retd.)
University of Madras.

The importance of Sanskrit studies for India derives from several significant factors. Sanskrit is the mother of the languages of North India and has through the centuries of co-existence influenced considerably the languages of the Dravidian group in South India also. The literature in Sanskrit form as the most ancient national heritage of the conutry and has played through the centuries the role of a common literary heritage and source of all the regional literatures. The thought and philosophy embedded in this literature, its literary norms and styles, the characters of its epics, poems and plays, all these form a common intellectual and aesthetic background for the whole country. It is in Sanskrit that one has a sense of the whole India as the common motherland and in this respect, Sanskrit language and literature form a force even in modern India for preserving the territorial and cultural unity of the country.

Sanskrit has been active for over four millennia in this country and put forth literature in every imaginable branch of knowledge, so that today when new scientific and technological terminology is being evolved to be used in educational, literary and scientific developments and administration, it is to the reservoir of Sanskrit that the new vocabulary looks to for its new formations. In the past Sanskrit through Hinduism and Buddhism and through the migration of literature, fables, mathematics, medicine and games, spread itsef out in Middle Eas, Central Asia, China, Japan and the whole area of South-East Asia. For the building up of goodwiil and Asian solidarity, these ancient cultural bonds with the countries of Asia through Sanskrit will be of use today even from the purely political point of view. As a language Sanskrit belonged to the Indo-European family whose members are spread over a large part of the world stretching from Ireland in the West to India in the

East. The great languages of Europe, Greek and Latin, German, French and English in which great contributions have been made by men of literature, thought and science are all related to Sanskrit as sister languages.

Stemming from this language, new modern sciences of comparative philology, comparative mythology and comparative religion have grown in modern times, leading to the cultivation of Sanskrit studies all over the civilised world. There is hardly an University in the world today which does not have or is not thinking of having a Chair for Sanskrit and Indian studies. Sanskrit thus stretches its arm of kinship and fellowship through the whole of the Western world.

The Vedas which represent the oldest literature of the Indo-European world and the most sacred and primary scriptures of India form the ultimate basis of all forms of Hindu religions prevalent in the different parts of India. Several basic concepts which are characteristic of Hindu thought go to the Vedas. Similarly the philosophy of Vedanta expounded by the Upanishads had become the prevailing philosophy of the whole country and there could be no adequate understanding of the Indian mind and attitude to life if one ignores the Vedantic phiosophy. The greatest teachers of philosophy and religions in India have all been exponents of Vendanta in one form or other. The Vedanta has also contributed to the concept of one universal religion and the comprehensive outlook that all religions are different approaches to the same ultimate spiritual goal. This attitude which has become part of the Indian heritage has a vital significance in the modern world. This is a viewpoint which resolves all religious conflicts; it gives India also its characteristic outlook, its policy of live and let live, its tolerance and sympathy, all of which have got their significance even in the secular and political fields. Today the Vedanta has become a common heritage of the whole world and its teachings, along with those of the Yoga, have spread to the corners of the world and has influenced thinkers and writers and his brought into being a new attitude towards peoples and nations of the world.

The two Epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, have been the two eyes of the nation; through their characters, who are exemplars of the virtues of righteousness, truth, charity, filial

affection, brotherly amity, kindness and benevolence, they have been the sustaining forces of the nation, moulding the character of everyone from his or her childhood. The earliest literature in all the regional languages are but translations of these Epics or of episodes from them. The greatest classics in some of the regional languages are the versions of the Ramayana in those languages. From the ideology of Dharma, Satya & Ahimsa to the proper names of persons, Indian life from one end of the country to the other is inspired by the two epics, their stories and characters.

Like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the works of greatest national poet of India, Kalidasa have been a source of inspiration to the poets in all regional languages of the country. Kalidasa's poems and plays have been endlessly translated and adapted, and it is his treatments of love and other aspects that has served as the model for the writers all over the country.

Sanskrit has been the common possession of the whole country particularly in respect of the sciences, medicine, mathematics, geometry and astronomy and also of the other useful and fine arts, architecture, sculpture, music, dance and drama It is the Sanskrit works that form the sole bases and authority of the knowledge in these different branches. The regional languages have put forth literary productions, but had always relied on Sanskrit for philosophy, sciences, and the arts.

The linguistic aspect has already been touched upon. The languages of North India are all born out of Sanskrit and all through their growth and literary expression, they had retained a high amount of Sanskrit vocabulary and Sanskrit influence. If all the literatures in the regional languages in the North would be printed in Devanagiri one would be able to see this fully and also be able to follow the general drift of poems or other kinds of writings, because of the predominance of Sanskrit vocabulary in them.

So far as the four South Indian languages are concerned Sanskrit literature and its modes of thought and literary forms have influenced them and led to the growth of fresh literature in these languages. Sanskrit words had also entered in large measure and particularly in Telugu and Malayalam to such an extent that one cannot be a true master of these languages or be able to appreciate fully the literary productions in them unless one has got a good

grounding in Sanskrit. This apart from the fact that the languages of the South, no less than those of the North, have continuously been taking themes for their works from the Sanskrit classics and have also enriching themselves by translation and adaptations of Sanskrit works.

Popular religion all over the country derives from Puranas. These large works in Sanskrit deal with the worship of different deities and various religious activities, performance of devout acts and austerities, piligrimages, charities etc. The great temples, which several ruling dynasties in a country built in different parts of the country under their rule, form the most patent forms of popular Hindu religion. On one side their architecture and sculpture are based on Sanskrit texts and on the other, the rituals worship etc., of the temples are governed by a body of Sanskrit texts known as the Agamas. The study of Sanskrit is therefore important for students of religion and archaeology and the customs and practices of the common people.

It may be easily seen from the above that Sanskrit forms the greatest common measure so far as the Indian languages are concerned. Although it should have been the natural national language of the country after the attainment of freedom, Hindi, which the constitution decided as the national language should also be, according to the Constitution, a language deriving largely from Sanskrit which is common to the whole country.

This is so not only in India. There is a considerable amount of Sanskrit vocabulary, both of pure Sanskrit and of Pali, in the languages of South–East Asia, where Hinduism and Buddism flourished for a number of centuries. The temples and arts and classical literature of this whole area are all based on Sanskrit sources. Even place names and personal names in this are derived from Sanskrit. So that today these countries, after the attainment of freedom, have felt the need to use Sanskrit and Pali for building up the necessary vocabulary for modern administrative and other needs. It is even considered necessary in Indonesia to have a grounding in Sanskrit in the educational institutions, for at least students of humanities. Countries where Buddhism had flourished like Tibet, Central Asia, Japan, Burma and Ceylon have the same bond of Sanskrit uniting them with india.

Subsequent to the discovery of Sanskrit by Europe and the translation of Upanishads, the Gita, etc. from Sanskrit into Western languages, interest in the wisdom derived from Sanskrit has been steadily growing. Translations of Sanskrit classics are increasing. All this today is but a continuation of an activity which began in 5th century A.D. in Sassanian Iran when the fables of the Panchatantra in Sanskrit were translated into Pahlavi and from this, translations were made into several languages of the Middle East and West. Very few fables can be found in the West which do not ultimately go to Sanskrit. The development of knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, astrology and medicine and surgery also developed from the translations of Sanskrit works in these fields into Pahlavi and Arabic from which their knowledge passed into the languages of Europe.

What has been said above would suffice to make us realise the importance of Sanskrit as a language and literature having world-wide significance. Within India, it has been shown as the most effective unifier. It is the common platform for Indians from different parts of the country to come together and feel like belonging to one common cultural whole. If there is a common Indian image, a framework for identifying the Indian personality, the Indian attitude, It is to be found in the ideology which Sanskrit has given.

The study of Sanskrit has deteriorated, particularly rapidly after the attainment of freedom because of the complication of the language formula. It has also deteriorated because of increasing stress laid on scientific and technological education and development and also to some extent by the active promotion of the so called secular ideology. Properly viewed, Sanskrit would not only not stand in the way of modern development in india. but would be helpful to the advancement of science and technology and also for allowing the development of ideas relating to social equality and the sharing of welfare among the people. As pointed out already, the Vedantic philosophy bequeathed by the Upanished emphasises the fundamental unity of man and affirms his dignity and divinity.

However much the secular notion and the objective of production and technological development may be persued, it is after all the human material that has to be benefitted or has to operate all the machinery of progress, This requires the proper disciplining

of the human material. The paralysing of the machinery of modern progress in industry, education and administration by the frequent flare–up of human imbalance, voluntary violence, disinclination to abide by law and order–these have to be tackled. An education which has a strong disciplining force–tuch as is found in Sanskrit classics–will prevent the growth of such tendencies. The same literature will be useful also to inculcate virtues of humanity and banevolance and virtues which contribute to inner satisfaction and the spirit of understanding and living in amity with fellow beings. These are the qualities which sustain humanity; culture and civilization. These are the highlights of the lessons of Sanskrit and its great literature. So long as these virtues have value, the importance of Sanskrit will never disappear, although it may, for a time, have some slump. Its temporary depression is only the precursor to a fresh high upsurage.

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"Generation: to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this, ever in flesh and blood, walked upon this earth."

—Albert Einstein,
About Mahatma Gandhi.

ENGLISH AFTER INDEPENDENCE

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An eminent professor of English, addressing a conference of teachers of English, soon after Independence, announced humourously: We are a limited company "under liquidation. Despite the element of wit in the expression, it neatly summed up the prevailing gloom over the position of English in India. Till then English held a predominant position in the curriculum of our schools and colleges, being the first language as well as the medium of instruction. The regional language had already replaced English as a medium of instruction in most schools, government and private ; but even so, the demand for English medium schools, was so great that it was inevitable that enterprising private effort should step in and set up English medium schools, However, in the first flush of independence, many states sought to reduce the number of years given to English in secondary schools with the conviction, no doubt, that English would ultimately disappear from the country altogether; Maharastra, Gujarat and a number of other States, including Madras, severely reduced the time for the study of English. The learned Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat University went so far as to say, in a speech delivered to the Gujarat University Teachers' Association on 5 August 1951 (as reported in Sandesh on 7th August 1951) that within a period of ten years English would completely go out of India! The outlook, indeed, was so dark and gloomy that when the fixation of the fifteen year period for the replacement of English was announced, it was clear to every one that the days of English in India were numbered.

While the situation created by the hasty and somewhat emotional changes ushered in by States certainly looked bleak and undoubtedly spelt d saster, there was a remarkable development in non-governamental sectors. There was an amazingly large number of people and organisations which steadily increased as time passed by, which began to use English for a variety of purposes. There was increased trade and commerce following independence and English

was the only convenient medium of communication both in national and international spheres. More and more newspaper and periodicals came into existence and the circle of their readers began to widen beyond all expectation. The United Kingdom, and more especially, the United States of America, threw open their gates more widely for scholars from our country to go there for higher education and specialist education. Tens of thousands of Indian students have gone abroad and returned to this country after much valuable stay there. Whereas in a year such as 1935, it was difficult to find a single Ph.D. in any department of English in our universities, we find scores of them today. Indeed, the time is fact coming when without a Ph.D. as an entry qualification, it is almost impossible for any one to get a university lecturership! further promotion depends almost entirely on the doctoral degree as well as the scholarly publications one has to one's credit. Apart from the enormous increase in the number of Ph.D's. not only in the English department but in other departments as well, the number of scholarly publications—books as well as learned articles—in English have also increased almost incredibly. Indian Writing in English has now won not only national recognition but international recognition as well and has richly contributed to the ever—widening stream of Indo-Anglian literature which is a tributary to the main stream of English literature. This discipline is now seriously studied as a part of our Post-graduate courses in an increasing number of universities. All these developments in the " private sector " have had a sobering effect on those who were in charge of policy making and as time passed by more and more of them began to see that English could not be dispensed with, without at the same time, seriously risking the development and progress of this country.

Alongside these somewhat heartening and bright developments " amid the encircling gloom ", we also witness the curious phenomenon of our graduate students– many of them, in fact—being totally incapable of making a subject agree with its verb. They cannot write a couple of sentences in Eglish without a couple of glaring mistakes in them. The present writer came across a M.A. answer script in which the candidate had asserted that Shakespeare had written four plays, a tragedy, a comedy, a historical play and and a romance, according to the syllabus of his university ! In another university the writer saw an answer book of a degree student where

the answers were in the English scrit, but the matter was in the regional language. Such examples could be multiplied. The time has come when examiners have to award marks not for what is actually written but for what was intended to be expressed. It is alo true that even amidst such a heap of answers, you occasionally come across some brilliant answers.

The truth it seems, to me, is that our students present a very wide spectrum of abilities in English. There are bright students; there are weak students; and there are indifferent students. An additional factor is that the needs of our students are **varied** as they never before were. A student coming to a college class from a regional medium, (high school, pursuing his studies in English medium,) needs special help. A student coming to a college without any English whatsoever, as in several States of India today, where English at the secondary stage is just optional, does need English to study books on his special subjects written in English. It is also possible to visualise in many universities students coming to the post graduate courses without any knowledge of English. They need an intensive course which will quickly give them the requisite English to pursue students to widen their knowledge in their special subjects of study. In one university, which the present writer visited, there was only **one** book available in the regional language for the post-graduate class in that subject, while the professor had about fifteen hundred books in English in his personal library at home on the different aspects of that subject. It is dreadful to imagine how a post graduate student could manage with just one book [because the medium of instruction at the post-graduate level in that university was the regional language] to get all the lore that the professors were willing to transmit to him. This, indeed, is a big problem in all the universities where English has been [or is going to be] replaced as the medium of instruction by the regional languages. Will it be possible to get translations of all the standard works in all the branches of human knowledge into all our regional languages? Let us assume that some day even that may become possible. But by that time, will not knowledge make enormous strides outdating all our effort? Even if it is possible to cope with this enormous work by engaging a whole army of translators who can quickly render into our regional languages all the books as they are produced elsewhere in the world, will it not be far, far cheaper

to teach our students sufficient English for the purpose they need it? This dream of getting all the worthwhile books translated into our languages must, I am afraid, will take many, many years before fulfilment in sight. The methodology of foreign language teaching has made such rapid stides these days that our own students going to countries like Germany and Russia learn those languages in a matter of months to intelligently follow lectures given in those languages on **technical subjects** also. If this is so, how is it that we cannot teach English in a fairly short time to our students to follow lectures in English and to read books in English on their subjects? Once we realize the importance of English for the development of our country, surely, we have to tackle in right earnest the problem of teaching English well enough for those who need it for a particular purpose.

Over the years, opinion has veered round to the position that English is absolutely necessary for the future development of this country and therefore it should be taught well in schools and colleges. There is a steadily growing appreciation of the fact that we need English in this country as a **language of administsation** ["for an indefinite period", as officially occepted:]; that we need it as a **link language** to enrich our own languages and the literatures in our own languages in various different branches of human knowledge; that we need it as a **liberty language** to enable our university students and others interested in higher education to welcome international scholarship through English books into our country; and that we need it broadly as a window on the world. India cannot remain isolated with the rest of the world and, as time passed by, we have to have increasing international contacts of various kinds and so far English has been and probably will continue to be the best link in this vital sphere of our national interest.

Considering the overall situation obtaining in the country the Government of India appointed a Study Group to go into the question of teaching English at various levels in this country. The Group studied the problems in some depth and produced a draft report which was discussed at two national conferences, one of Professors of English from universities and the other of Teachers, Educators and Administrators. The Report, as finally approved by these bodies, has now been published. The recommendations made will have a far reaching effect on English education in India. While strengthening

the teaching of English at the secondary stage [by preparing realistic syllbuses, by producing text-books which will reflect the objectives of these syllabuses, by improving teaching methods, by reforming the examination system and by intensifying teacher-training programes], the Report recommends that, instead of having a single course in English as we now have at the Pre-University, degree and post-graduate levels, universities should offer a wide variety of courses to suit the different needs of the students. The diversification of courses calculated to meet the different requirements of the students will improve the quality of English teaching and at the same time make it meaningful and useful to the students. There is no wisdom in forcing a single course on all the students, irrespective of their previous background, aptitude and future needs. The report also stresses the need of initiating teacher, training programmes at the college level in order to promote efficient teaching of English. It is a good sign that a number of universities have already started thinking in these terms and are striving hard to institute some of these reforms suggested by the Report. The future of English in this country depends on how best these recommendations are implemented in the universities and as things stand today, there is every hope that in a few years' time, an increasing number of universities will change their present pattern of English teaching and will introduce courses designed to improve the English of their students in the special fields in which they are required to use this language in their after-college life.

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"India has, after a long period of subjection, gained her freedom and independence, That freedom has to be maintained, defended and enlarged at all cost, for it is on the basis of that freedom alone that any structure of progress can be built".

—**Dr. Rajendra Prasad**

MODERN ART IN INDIA

SANJIVA DEV
ARTIST

Vision and reason unveil, to some extent, whatever is veiled in life and culture. Vision is eyesight while reason is insight. Vision sees the form while reason apprehends the notion – form and notion are the iron and idea. Form and notion would constitute art. In some aspects of art the form predominates whereas in others, the notion. In Romantic are it is not so much the form as the notion which does really matter whereas in Modern Art, on the contrary, it is the form which really matters and not the notion.

When there is notion then there is content. In Modern Art there is no notion and hence there is no content. Form, bereft of content. has been the main trait of Modern Art, especically the Modern abstract art instead of the modern figurative art which is not bereft of content.

In fact the word 'Modern' is not adequate, for every art when it came into existence was modern and it became traditional as time elapsed. The past tense was present tense at one state and thus what we now call the traditional was once Modern; similarly what we now call the Modern will in future become traditional. This is the denotative definition of the Modern. But the term Modern is used in the connotative meaning the world over suggesting a distant mode of art which is non-academic and distortive and non-objective or abstract. No doubt this Modern art originated In the West, and like the Modern science established itself in every country of the world. At present Modern art – especially painting and sculpture – has become not only universal but also uniform in appearance.

Man has constantly been struggling, from times immemorial, to liberate himself from the shackles of tradition, from the barriers of conformity, from the bondage of crystallised conventions and customs in every walk of life. The same happens in the pursuit of culture, especially in the sphere of art, which is the spontaneous

expression of the human spirit. In short, Modern art is a vigorous rebellion against realism, a revolt against academism.

From the very beginning, Oriental art had not been as realistic as the occidental art of the Renaisance period and hence the artistic revolution did emerge from the West instead of the East. Moreover, the advent of camera in the 18th century [had compelled the artists to deviate from realism as they were unable to compete with the visual objects.

Modern art began to unfold itself by paying less heed to subject-matter in art creations. Once the subject-matter was very significant and the value of a work of art was to be decided by the nobility of the subject matter. The nobler was the subject-matter, the greater was the work of art. But owing to the democratic out-loek which emerged out of the French Revolution in 1789, the conception of the nobility of subject matter began to be replaced by less noble or ordinary subject-matter. In a work of art, it was not so much the theme as the technique which did really matter, thus the theme in art used to lose its significance of theme has landed over the complete elimination of subject-matter in what is now called Modern Abstract Art.

In Modern abstract or non-objective art, no subject matter exists; there exist only certain forms and colours devoid of any content. In this context Whister observes, "As Music is the poetry of sound, so is painting the poetry of sight, and the subject-matter has nothing to do with the haromony of sound or of colour". Modern abstract art is analogous to pure absolute music consisting of sheer-ic-sound without words.

In India the origin of Modern art (not abstract) goes to the Neo-Bengal school of painting towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, E. B. Havell and Ravindranath Tagore were the originators of this new school. In fact this movement was a revivalist one attempting to bring back the traditional methods of Ajanta art and Rajput art etc. but their attempts could not succeed and instead creations of weak line and insipid colour, except from the brushes of a few artists, began to appear having been influenced by the Far Eastern art in which water-colour wash

technique predominated. This trend too was modern simply because it was a rebel against academic realism which was then imported into India from the West.

But the first true Indian Modernist was Gaganendranath Tagore, brother of Abanindranath Tagore. He was the first indian Cubist in painting. Gaganendranath made many an experimentation in unraveling the mysteries hidden in form and colour. In those days he was the only Modernist who revolted against the representattional art albeit he too had painted numerous figure studies as well as landscapes in the New Bengal style. Gaganendranath Tagore's cubism, unlike the analytical cubism of Pablo Picasso the Spainyard, was a sort oj synthetic cubism. He was able to bring out unusual effects in his Modernist studies through the arrangement of juxtaposing of contrasting colours, especially the cream and black; by such chromatic composition he had created light in some of his pictures. His horizontal piece "Dream Castle" is a masterpiece in this style and technique; it reveals patches of light through the masses of darkness; a mysterious atmosphere envelops this picture. Gaganendranath made experiments in diverse st) les, techniqnes, Gaganendradath made experiments in diverse styles, techniques, media and mannerisms, but his cubist studies stand out unique in the field of Modern non-representional art. Unlike the Modern abstract and figurative paintings, they are unusual by themselves.

Then there emerged poet Rabindranath Tagore, at his seventieth year, as a Modern Painter on the arena of Indian art towards 1930. Rabindranath was not a trained painter; he was a poet and a Musician and thus he was a master of rhythm; the vital throb of rhythm in him was able to render him a painter. As a poet his imagination did know no bounds; his creation of forms and colours was his own independent of that of the visual word. No realism, no representation exist in eis art; his forms are the embodiments of rhytym and his colours the enchanting tunes of Music. Rabindranath Tagore did not cling to any recognised modernisms and that if why his art cannot included in any of the Modern schools of art. His art by itself is a school.

Amrita Shargill was the next appearance in the field of Modern art in India, She was not a modernist in the sense in which Modern art exists now in India and elsewhere. She was neither a cubist nor an impressionist, nor an expressionist and nor an abstractionist. She

was a painter of human figures in slightly distorted forms and pure bright colours, and in this manner she kept aloof from realism. Her paintings are not devoid of content ; they are full of illustrative content and yet they can be viewed as pure forms and bright colours independent of the content they depict. Amrita Shergill never wanted to create forms and colours liberated from the burden of subject-matter, She never attempted to separate the form and colour from the theme. She thought in order to create the aesthetic deiight of pure form there was no need to eliminate the illustrative content from the form. When the technique was consummate no content would become an obstacle in appreciating the formal beauty of the painting. In this sense, Shergill's paintings are normal and yet Modern ! Modern because they are not traditional and realistic. In the European art, Paul Cezanne was the master of form while Pail Ganguin was that of colour. In modern Indian art Amrita Shergill was the master (or mistress ?) of both form and colour. She died very young when her formal and chromatic adventures did not advance in the directions she dream of.

Indirectly Modern art in India was enriched by talented artists who were not pure abstract creators. One of such masters was late Prof. Asit Kumar Haldar of Neo-Bangal school of Art. He created a number of non-objective paintings in a new technique known as 'Lacsit'—painting on wood with lacquer. Prof. Haidar produced many symbolicals depicting mysteries of cosmic phenomena ; these are neither abstract in the strict sense nor figurative and hence they are semi abstract and semi-figurative.

Art is divided generally into three categories. I. realism 2. idealism and 3. expressionism. Realism is representational, idealism is distortive and expressionism is abstract. These three aspects of art are equally great in their places. Imitation plays the greatest part in realism ; imitation is not a degraded aspect ; in art imitation ought to be mastered in order to transcend the same and ascend the next step of idealism. Realism shows 'what it appears to be' whereas idealism 'What it ought to be'.

Where realistic representation fails to achieve required pictorial effects there idealistic distortion triumphs. Where realism and idealism end, there begins expressionism which is not only abstract but also figurative in appearance free from identity with any realistic form of the familiar object in the phenomenal world.

Today we live in the nuclear age when everything in every walk of life proceeds from the gross towards the subtle. from the macro to the micro, from the concrete towards the abstract. Art too is bound to travel to those destinations where form is reduced to travel to those destinations where form is reduced to the formless,

Form is a huge visual deception – an optical illusion – and it is a material burden, a physical bondage and a veil hidding the absolute reality. Art begins in form and culminates in the formless. So, the artist in course of his creative evolution should transcend the form in order to have great freedom in his or her luminous pilgrimage of self-expression.

Like all other countries India, too, is a country in the modern world. She has adopted modernism in her life and culture and in such a state why should she keep away from Modern Art? She has not kept away; india has given proper place to Modern art. The Major part of contemporary Indian art is Modern. Every art exhibition in India contains greater number of modern works of art than that of non-modern ones– Indian Modern art is not different from Western Modern art. Some critics opine that the modern art of India should in no way be an imitation of the Modern art of the West and on the contrary India should have her own Modern art. Some Indian Modern artists have adhered to this point of view and have been producing exquisite works of art—both painting and sculpture.

One of such foremost Modern Indian artists in George Keyt who has done innumerable painting based on Indian sources. Of course George Keyt is not an Indian native, though he made India his home for some time; he is a ceylonese by birth but his culture is Indian; he is a student of Sanskrit and he has translated some poetic works from the original Sanskrit into English. Jayadeva's "Geetagovinda" has been rendered by him from the original Sanskrit into English; he has also illustrated the same. George Keyt is not an abstract painter but a figurative painter. He creates his pictures mainly in lines containing cubistic blocks of colour between them. He has painted some pictures in this style and technique illustrating the Buddhist Jataka stories,

Some of the Indian Modern painters have settled down in Europe and America; Krishna Reddy and S. V. Rama Rao are some of them ; the former is in France and the latter in America. Both of them belong to Andhra Pradesh. Both of them have earned great reputation in the west. Rama Rao's work has been mostly in non-objective or abstract style. He points mostly the Indian subjects. Some Western critics opine that Rama Rao's abstraction is Indian rather than Western. In fact, abstraction in art is not a newly invented one ; it existed in every country's art. Modern art does not imply abstract art alone.

Leger writes "During the past fifty years the entire effort of artists has consisted of a struggle to free themselves from certain old bonds..... this efforts towards freedom began with the impressionists and has continued to express itself until our own day. The impressionists freed colour......we have carried their attempt forward and have freed form and design".

Impressionism, which stood for the purity of colour in painting, assisted in removing the use of the browns and the middle tones and the cast shadows. In India the preference for the purity of colour is a traditional trait. What are considered to be modern trends in some countries happen to be traditional ones in other countries. Many of the modern trends visible in Picasso's art are traditional in African ancient Negro sculpture.

As traditionally Indian art has been far removed from realism it would be easier for the Indian artists to adopt modernism in their art. But when compared to the Western Modern art, Indian Modern art today is more figurative than abstract. In Modern figurative art, the distortion plays a significant part. The greatest Modern Indian painter M.F. Hussain is a Modern figurative painter whose created forms are pure distortions ; his figures contain many unusual features—faces with no details, elongated and twisted limbs and several traits of abnormal anatomy. Hussain's carts contain angular wheels instead of round ones. Hussain does not eliminate subject-matter in his art. He creates the aesthetic delight in his works by painting unusual appearneces in brilliant colours.

Jamini Roy, who passed away a few months back, was one of the master Modernists of India. The source of his creative inspira-

tion had been the folk art of Bengal, especially the Kalighat Pat Painting. Some of his created figures are fantastic. The works of many of the Modern Indian artists are sophisticated whereas these of Jamini Roy are not; They are simple visual entities. Distortion is the main trend in Jamini Roy's art too; but the distortion in Jamini Roy's art is perceptual while in Hussain's art the distortion is conceptual.

In India today, every known as well as unknown artist, is a Modern painter. Modern painter should not be confused with contemporary painter. All contemporary painters are not modern painters. Contemporaneity denotes time while Modernity in art denotes certain methods. A contemporary artist may not paint in the Modern style and yet he is a contemporary artist.

Among the contemporary painters in India, Prof. Bendre is a semi-Modernist. His compositions in colour are musical in appeal. It is not so much the distortion of form as the symphony of colour which is prominent in Prof. Bendre's work. Satish Gujral is one of the talented Modernists and his works display abstract spaces in colour contrasts; he also paints in surrealistic methods. Panicker's figure studies are peculiar in their special colour-scheme. While some Modern artists create abnormally elongated figures, Panicker creates diminutive figures with huge disproportionate heads over the small torsos. Rasik Raval's figures are quite contrast with those of Panicker. Raval's figures are unusually elongated and thus his figures are as tall as the trees. Raval's works are very decorative and ornamental in colour; his symphonies in white, yellow and red are indeed enchanting.

F.N. Souza is a special type of Modern artist of India (Goa) who has settled down in Europe. He handles every type of Modern art with dexterity. About this painter David Sylvester writes "The importance of Francis Souza, the young Goan painter...... is that he has resolved this dilemma of style as no other modern Indian painter has done. He has crossed Indian Bazar painting with the Picasso style specially associated with the years 1936–46, to produce a manner that is at once individual and consistent".

K. Sreenivasulu, P.T. Reddy, Vidya Bhushan etc., are some of the Modern Painters whose works display diverse trends. Sreeni-

Vasulu, like Jamini Roy derives his inspiration from Andhra folk Art. P. T. Reddi's approach to Modern art is individualistic and many of his creations display erotic delight. Vidya Bhushan recently has done pure abstract paintings on large canvases ; these paintings are indeed masterpieces in abstraction. There is a talented group of young Modern artists in every part of India ; they produce studies in both Modern figurative as well as Modern abstract styled. These young artists are well-known, less-known and unknown. There are many master artists whose names are not given here.

All artists are not painters ; there are also Modern Indian sculptors who have broken the barriers of tradition and brought out the hidden beauties that lay behind the apparent form. As Sankho Chaudhuri, the Modern master sculptor says, "Sculpture has rid itself of superficial surface detail and emphasizes today the charm of the abstract". In India Modern sculpture has not developed so enormously as Modern painting did. Yet, there are talented Modern sculptors such as Sankho Chaudari, Prodosh Dasgupta, Chintamoni Kar, Dhanraj Bhagat etc. who have created stylised as well as abstract sculptures in various media.

The creation of Modern art in India is progressing fast, despite the obstacles that stand in the way. But the appreciation of Modern art in India has been very poor. Both the educated and the uneducated alike delight in displaying their inability in appreciating the Modern art, especially abstract art. In fact, appreciation is lacking even in the traditional and the representational arts. Those who fail to adequately appreciate the representational art could never dream of appreciating the non-representational abstract art. People are to be properly trained to appreciate the rhythm of line, the structure of form and the tune of colour. independent of the content they depict.

Modern art alone is not the only art ; Modern art too is an art. Art has many phases and Modern art is one of those phases. Life includes culture ; culture includes art ; art includes Modern **art!**

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EXPANDING HORIZONS IN INDIAN MUSIC

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The present century is remarkable for the strides made in several branches of musicology and musical repertoir. The introduction of music in the curriculum of studies in colleges and universities has enabled the intelligent study of the subject in all its comprehensive aspects. A detailed knowledge of several facts and phenomena relating to music have been added to musicology. Topics which were handled in a cursory manner in earlier works on music, have now received a detriled and fuller treatment.

MUSICOLOGY

Amongst the new topics added to musicology in recent times may be mentioned :

1. The scheme of 5184 suddha-misra melas. Based on the universally accepted 12 notes of the octave, this scheme of 72 x 72 or 5184 hepta-tonic scales is all comprehensive and brings within its ambit the melodic minor scale of western music and all the misra melas of a heterogeneous nature, i.e. scales with one mela in the arohana and another mela in the avarohana. These melas incidentally become janaka melas for ragas like Desh of Hindustani music.

This Desh raga s r m p n s—s n d p m g r a may be viewed as a derivative of the Dhira-Hari meiakarta, i.e. with Dhirasankarabharana notes in the ascent and Harikambhoji notes in the descent :

2. Geographical factors and their influence on the growth and character of a country's music.

The reasons for :

(a) Particular places becoming important seats of music.

(b) Some people preferring to listen to music of a heavy character, and

(c) Some places having become important centres for the manufacture of musical instruments, provide interesting reading.

3. Madras in musical Compositions :— The Vaggeyakara mudra (signature of ankita of composer), raga mudra. tala mudra, and prabandha mudra are all well known. The vaggeyakara mudra admits of the divisions, Svanama mudra. Itaranama mudra and Paryaya mudra,

4. Musical prosody, dealing with the laws of prosody and the extent of their application in musical compositions. Tala is a regulating factor in the occurence of yati and prasa in musical compositions. Padachcheda is necessitated by the exigencies of musical prosody. Gadya sagitya and Padya sahitya are both met with in Kritis,

5. Musical rhetorics. This deals with various beauties or purple patches figuring in the dhatu (music) and matu (sahitya) of musical compositions. The embroidery work in musical compositions, the yati patterns woven into the texture of the sahitya, the gems of svarakharas studded here are there and yamakas; all provide delightful reading.

Similes, metaphors, hyperbole, rhetorical interrogations, euphemisms. pun, antithesis and many other figures of speech figure in musical compositions.

6. Musical grammer (Sangita vyakaranam), justifying the particular usages and prayogas. Solecisms and poetic licenses also come under this heading.

7. Styles in musical compositions and Styles in instrumental play.

8. Musical mnemonics, and the sphere and extent of their application.

9. Raga and Rasa. An intensive study of this subject has now become possible on account of the brilliant operas of Tyagaraja and the dance dramas of Melattur Venkatrama Sastry.

10. Musical Pedagogy has now become an important subject. Precious little has been written on this subject in the past. As a result of the evolution of the methods relating to the teaching of songs, acquisition of svara-gnana, srutig nana, raga gnana tala, gnana and kalpana gnana and the emergence of many audio-visual aids, the teaching of music has been made interesting in schools. Quick results have now become possibie. In the ancient gurukula system, a few students voluntarily gathered round a master and learnt music under him. Good results were possible when the master taught with sincerety and the pupils too were sufficiently talented. There were sometimes days and even weeks when pupils went without any lesson at all. Girls had no chance of studying in the gurukula system and for obvious reasons.

11. Musical Iconography and Music of the Bronzes.

12. Lithophones.

13. Temple Music.

14. History of Music. Anything like a connected account of the history of Indian music along with the biographies of the musical luminaries and a critical estimate of their compositions were never attempted in the past. This want has now been fulfilled.

15. Comparative music is a new and interesting subject.

16. In the realm of performance, the exposition of Pallavi has assumed capital importance and rightly so.

17. Concert Ethics with the emergence of Sangita Sabhas with paid membership, the subject of Katcheri dharma or the code of ethics to be observed by performers and by the organisers and the audience has become of vital importance.

18. REPERTOIRE

Amongst the new types of compositions added to the repertoire of Karnatic music in recent times, may be mentioned :—

Dinaragamaljka-varna, Manipravala kritis in Telugu and Tamil, the Murchchanakaraka mela raga malika, Nadai gitas or Marches, Ragamalika march, Mckhas gitas or overtures, Sutra gitas. Patra gitas and Ragarupa sancharis.

19. New ragas' amongst new ragas in which compositions have been composed in recent times may be mentioned :

1. Mallikavasantham, 2. Sunadavinodini. 3. Valaji and 4. Haridasapriya.

20. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

In the sphere of musical instruments, new instruments like the

1. Svavadita (Automatic) Tambura.
2. Paribhramana tambura, i.e. an automatic tambura wherein the instrument revolves round itself on its own axis, In this process the tuned strings get plucked by stationary plectra.
3. Tambura, made of saw dust (a waste product).
4. Tuntina tambura, wherein the resonator is like the resonator of the tuntina.
5. Dvimukha (two-faced) Tambura.
6. Chaturmukha (four-faced) Tambura,
7. Laghu Vina,
8. Akasa Vina,
9. Savyasachi Vina,
10. Pnadarsana Vina,
11. Laghn Gotuvadyam,
12. Telescope Gotuvadyam,
13. Svayambhu svara manjusha (harmonics box),
14. Laghu Sruti box,
15. Samashtl sruti box,
16. Graha bheda Pradarsani,
17. Vedic lute.
18. Nallka Murali,
19. Obsolete instruments like the Yazh and Sapta tantri (seven stringed) tambura,
20. Tala yantra, capable of reckoning any of the 35 talas automatically.
21. Pradarsana Vina, have been devised.

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MINIATURE INDIA

P. VAMANA RAO
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, PUBLIC RELATIONS
AND TOURISM DEPARTMENT
Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Merely going places may be called tourism in a hurry, All the same, tourism is tourism and to visit pleces of tourist interest whether leisurely or hurriedly is sure to promote integration and bring foreign exchange. If tourim is an industry, tourist spots in their varying degrees of attraction are an end product, being offered to a customer. The itinerary of a tourist depends on his time, purse, tastes and extent of interest. It should be tailored accordingly, and who best is dependent on the ability of the travel agent, the tourist promoter and the guide.

Hyderabad is miniature India. A tourist having a brief time in this country, if he sees Hyderabad, the confluence of the North and the South, would have seen India in its variegated aspects. Hyderabad can also be called the lake city, as it has in its bosom not less than four lakes of exquisite beauty and charm and many more are found in its periphery.

The most striking edifice, about 49 metres high which has for centuries been Hyderabad's land mark and symbol, is Charminar four minarets around which grew the city. This fascinating monument was built by Nawab Mohammed Quli Qutab Shah, the founder of the city, in 1591- From the top of the minarets, one can have a bird's view of the colourful city, dottod with tourist spots. A walk from here across the road takes one to mecca Masjid, another great contruction, containing the tombs of all the Nizams except Nizam VII, since 1803. Its contruction, which has started and continued by the Qutub Shahi Kings, was completed by Aurangzeb, the Moghul Emperor in 1687. A short distance from Charminar stands the Salarjung Museum. This one-man collection is housed in a spacious modern building on the banks of the river Musi. The museum exhi-exhibits the choicest vintage jewellery, crockery. Paintings, statues,

wood carvings and weapons, from both the East and the West. It is verily a national museum.

A group of US Travel agents who visited Hyderabad recently considered the Museum as one of the greatest attractions to a foreign tourist. They also rated the Nehru Zoological park as one of the most fascinating Zoos in the World. There the wildest animals are not caged but kept in natural surroundings by adopting a system of moats as a result of which one can have a close up view of any animal. Extending over a 300 acre site it is probably the only zoo where one is allowed to go round in an automobile, There is also a mini-train, which takes visitors round the Zoo. The Zoo is a children's paradise, with provision for a variety of joy rides over different animals. The monkey island is, of course, a star attraction.

After a tourist visits these two prize spots in Hyderabad, he can see the once impregnable fort of Golconda of Kohinoor fame, a "must" for every tourist. From here the Qutub Shahi dynasty ruled from 1518 to 1687 for about one and a quarter century. The fort fell to the hands of Aurangzeb not due to lack of heroism on the part of Abul Hasan Tenashe. the last of the Golconda kings, but due to treachery. A magnificent group of romantic zenena palaces of the princes and consorts of kings are also worthy of attention.

A tourist can later see the public gardens, take a quick view of the city from Naubat Pahad, situated at a stone's throw from there. On an adjacent hill, is being constructed an imposing marble temple of Lord Venkateshwara. The tourist may see the Osmania University, well-known for its Indo-Saracentic architecture, which is the epicentre for the educational and research complex that has developed all round.

One can do his Hyderabad comfortably in a day. A day is required for a visit so Nagarjunasagar, the tallest and the biggest masonary dam the third largest man-made lake in the world and the Budhist Nagarjunakonda, the only island musem in the world, a distance of 128 kilometers from Hyderabad. Every Sunday the India Tourism Development Corporation runs a luxury coach from Hyderabad to Nagarjunasagar and a sight-seeing tour every day except on Friday.

From Nagarjunasagar one can go by road to Amaravati a distance of 184 Kilometres, which was the capital of the Andhra

Śatavahana Kings about 2,000 years ago. The stupa here is profusely and Buddha "Jatakas" (Biographies) beautifully inscribed on it.

Making Hyderabad as the base, one can visit Warangal and Hanamkonda, two historic places about 152 kms from the city. At Hanamkonda, the thousand Pillared Temple belonging to the Kakatiya period is superb. The gate-way arch of the Kalyana Mandap in the Warangal Fort reminds the tourist of the gateway—arch of Sanchi Saranath stupa. With Warangal as a halting point one could visit Ramappa temple 64 kms from Warangal known as "the brightest gem in the galaxy of medievel Deccan architecture". A picturesque lake bearing the same name is situated in the proximity of the temple; A glimpse into the wild life can be had is one travels about 64 kms from Warangal to Pakhal sanctuary. The state tourism Department runs a coach to Ramappa and Pakhal twice a week.

Srisailam in Kurnool district is one of the famous shrines of Siva, situated on the banks of the rivar Krishna, 211 kms from Hyderabad. A hydro-electric project is also being constructed on river Krishna at Srisailam. There is a proposal to run a launch from Nagarjunasagar to Srisailam, a distance of 96 picturesque kilometers.

The Gandhi Hill with the imposing Gandhi stupa and a sonet-Lumiere programme are new attractions to the tourists to Vijayawada. 275 kms from Hyderabad. Kondapalli toys with novel designs and colour, available for shoping, are manufactured in Kondapalli near Vijayawada.

Visakhapatnam popularly known as Vizag is a natural sea port with a hill projecting into the Bay of Bengal called the Dolphin's Nose. The light house erected here is highly powerful. Vizag is known for its fite breaches and "Lawson's Bay" Is a paradise for sea-bathers. A 32 kilometer staetch of road along the beach from Vizag to Bheemunipatnam, being constructed now, will give a fine drive to a tourist, Simhachalam, a temple of beauty situated on a hill is another tourist attraction. A coach is being run by the Department for city-sight seeing five days in a week and one day to Araku. Thus, Hyderabad, Vizag and Nagarjunasagar, the tourist trinitp. must find a place in the itinerary of a tourist even if he is in a hurry.

Tirupathi is a jewel among pillgrim-cum-Tourist centres in India, Judged not only from the record number of visitors, but also

scenic beauty and the revenue it brings. While one can reach Tirupathi from Madras, Bangalore and Hyderabad by road or rail, it is proposed to link it up by air from all these places. The aerodrome is under construction. Lepakshi, a temple of great sculptural and archaeological value, situated in Ananthapur district, is about 326 kms. from Bangalore and 285 kms. from Kurnool.

The itinerary of a tourist depends on the tourist himself and his convenience. But, a tourist who wants to do India cannot miss Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh.

Andhra Pradesh is known for its aesthetic and utilitarian handicrafts, textiled, brass and silver filigree work, Normal and Bidri were which are world famous, and present an unending variety of skil, colour and imagination. Lepakshi is the name given to Government emproria, where all these are on sale at reasonable rates. A tourist has enough fare in Andhra Pradesh and he has a wide choice to suit his time and purse.

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"For the first time I began to think, consciously and deliberately, of religion and other worlds. The Hindu religion especially went up in my estimation; not the ritual or ceremonial part, but its great books, the "Upanishads" and the "Bhagavad Gita". I did not understand them, of course, but they seemed very wonderful."

—Jawaharlal Nehru.

THE ANDHRAS AS I KNOW THEM

K. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR
EDITOR
'Indian Farming' and 'Indian Horiticulture

My memorable introduction to the Andhras took place way back in the mid-thirties when I was a student in the Government Brennen College, Tellicherry, North Kerala. Dr. T. V. Seshagiri Rao was our Logic Lecturer. He was a true Doctor of Philosophy. It was he who taught me to look for the inner incandescence in man – the inner incandescence that turns a man into a poet and a good poet, a writer and a good writer, even an engineer into a good engineer.

He would tell me: "Yes, Balakrishnan, K is a good student, very good in his studies. But he has no flash! That it". He was always looking for that Inner flash.

He taught me another truth about the Andhras. It is a small story. I used to go to his house very often. Invariably he would give me some kind of a milk pudding and tea. He could call out to his wife some words in Telugu meaning; "Balakrishnan has come. What are you giving?" And then the tea and pudding would come. How? in a very tiny saucer and a very tiny cup. Some delightful Japanese miniature crockery, may be. One day a light smile flashed over my lips. Dr. Seshagiri Rao said: "You are smiling because of the quantity. Balakrishnan, it is the giving that counts, not the quantity. You are not coming here hungry. And so it is the giving that matters. Not the quantity". And with his massive bare torso, a great head and a towering forehead, he would look at me from his easy chair, beaming with happiness. And throughout my life I have found Andhras are givers, great givers.

A littie later I was in the Law College, Madras. One night I was introduced to the sheer poesy of the Telugu language. There was an India Peoples Theatre Association show (the famous leftist I. P. T. A. of the early forties). They were collecting mony for Andhra flood relief fund. There were several items, multilingual. And then came a Telugu item, An old blind man was being led by a

girl. They were singing a duet. The duet was on social injustices and how to create a new society- The tune was lyrical, hauntingly tragic. As the song progressed, coins flew into the stage. I felt breathless. Though I was understanding only a little the magic gripped me. I was under the impression : who can create a tragic lyric better than out Changampuzha Krishna Pillai ? But here were the Telugu people doing one better. On that day I almost felt like going away with those people—alright, I am coming with you !

I am afraid, I will write whole pages and pages, disregarding Yuvabharati's ceiling on pages. Because, the major projections of the theme are yet to come.

I cannot find adequate words to project my sense of gratitude to Khasa Subba Rau for making me what I am. Khasaji was righteous indignation personified. Today you find massively influential Editors, almost in the nature of a parallel establishment. But where is the indignation? Where is that utterly selfless evaluation of public issues ? Khasaji never for a moment worried whom he was offending when he scented a wrong vis-a-vis the supreme public interest. There was a time when I was not missing a single issue of Swatantra. Is there a piece of writing today to match Khasaji's. Side lights'? I am not telling anything new: the Ministers of the undivided Madras State held their breath before opening every issue of Swatanura every week. The sentences would ascend in a spiralling upward crescendo ; the subject would be dealt with in its pure common-weal sense totally oblivious of any personal equations or consequences ; and the wrong-doer, if he has any conscience, would bend his head in shame and remorse. That was Khasaji...

One day, something particularly offensive and tragic happened in Madras. The official reaction to it was not satisfactory. I telephoned to Khasaji. Khasaji replied : "I have also heard about it. I am putting an invtstigator on the job. And you wait". And next week came a ringing, ringing "Sidelights" which made good old Rajaji knash his teeth.

As a reporter in the information Department of the Government of Madras and as a reporter of 'Indian Republic] (Subhodaya Publications), I had the unique opportunity of meeting all the Andhra Ministers of the undivided Madras State. I am not saying all of

them were saintiy characters. But how they differed is, in a sense, the theme of this exposition, something which fascinated me as a sociologist (and almost as an amateur anthrapologist, you might say). As a daily routine we used to meet Kala Venkat Rao, H. Seetharama Reddy, B. Gopal Reddy, V. Kurmayya, K. Chandra Mouli and later Sanjiva Reddy. S, B. P. Pattabhiram and Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao. They were all Ministers of course. But we got the feeling that they were also utterly human. The affairs of State were not totally isolated from the human sphere; they never made you feel that they were automatons of a political machine, far away from the 'men in the reporters'. You could joke and laugh with them. This does not mean we were never laughing and joking with the Ministers of other linguistic groups. No. Not that way. I am meaning certain nuances of behaviour. A certain humanism is built into the Andhras. And you can get it vibrated even from the tallest of the tall. Why?—the great rivers of Andhra Pradesh make them that way?

I had also the benefit of association with Andhras at very human level. Kapila Kasipati. I have an incorrigoble habit of creating unemployment for myself. I would resign from job after job thinking that the next would be more socially purposeful. And suffer no end in the process. 1948 was one such bleak period. Kasipati was the Special Officer for Broadcasting in the Madras Government. He had known me earlier in All India Radio, Delhi. I approached him for help. He straightaway gave me an assignment do a broadcast in Malayalam on the developmental plans of the Madras Government. Of course I could carry out an assignment like that with aplomb. And later what happened? He had created two posts by then – a Telugu reporter and a Tamil reporter; And I, a Malayali, was appointed as Telugu reporter! Only an Andhra Kasipathi could do itl His reason; the work is mostly in English and you are the kind of man I want to carry out this scheme. I will face the criticism, if any. And the Director of Information and Publicisy was C. V. Hanumantha Rao. And when the scheme was wound up and I was again in need of a job, C. V. H. Rao was there again to help. He had by then become the Editor of Indian Republic. Said he alright Nair, you are covering the Secretariat for us. And I was on the staff of the Indian Republic.

Why were they so kind?

And the remarkable man, Veluru Sahajanand, Sahajanand was for some time in the Information Department of the Madras Government. I have a knack of having sandals which would become unserviceable on assignments involving more than a mile, in distance, or in terms of time, more than a few hours. Immediately after joining the Department, I was asked to accompany a Minister to Guindy. And Just this situation arose. "Shahajanand. I have no money", Said Sahajanand: "I have a pair which I bought and found too tight. Just trying it was the only use I made of It. Take it". The function was covered with confidence,

It was the post-war days of rationing, Rice was got with difficulty. Said Sahajanand one day: "Take this packet of rice". It was rice from Andhra fields.

I know Sahajanand would be red in the face when he reads this. He used to say: "Nair, you are too sentimental". Let him get angry,

You might remember there was an international competition for short stories when Mohammed of Kerala and Padma Raju from Andhra Pradesh got prizes. Mohammed's theme was "Eyes", I explained the story to SahaJanand, he said he had written an earlier short story on a similar theme. And patiently he read it out to me, sentence by sentence. It was an intensely moving story. I could only exclaim: "Sahajanand, do you people pack so much of sensitivity, so much of emotions in your writing?".

My thoughts go now to the great Andhra Kesari, T. Prakasam. When I saw him in action, in the Assembly of the undivided Madras State, moving the motion of indictment of the Madras Ministers, including almost all the Andhra Ministers, he was already a grand old man. But his face showed suppressed furies, and the hint of a Vesuvius inside belching fire and smoke. I am not going into all that past history, In the course of the debate, Kala Venkat Rao (or was it Gopala Reddy?) interjected: "But Pantulu Garu, our admiration for you is undiminished!" Andhra Kesari growled: "I don't want your admiration, I only want you not to indulge in misdeeds".

Prakasam was not only a great warrior. He was also an architect of development. It was he who first conceived and executed the unique Firka Development Scheme, the germ-plasm Idea,

from which most of our development Schemes, the National Extension Service, IADP and so on, have originated. And through Swarajya, he showed how Editors should function, battling for freedom, or battling for a new society.

That again reminds me of some of the great Assembly personalities like Tenneti Viswanatham and Timma Reddy. I have always a grievance that Tenneti's immense potentialities were not utilized by the Centre. And I recall Timma Reddy's idealistic and emotional speeches in the Assembly, When recently Timma Reddy was in the news, I told my friends: "No! Timma Reddy would never become an oppressor of Harijans. There is some misunderstanding somewhere".

And I also remember the utterly informal Brahmananda Reddi, then quite a junior who would frequent the press room in the Madras Secretariat. He would give us some background information, and in return take some news and gossip from us.

Andhras are supposed to be a little flamboyant. But the humility of some of the great ones among them would truly take your breath away, I am now thinking of scientists like Dr. Chalam. Dr. N. Ganga Prasada Rao and Dr. Chivukala Krishnamurthy Dr. Chalam was one of the great architects of the high-yielding varieties programme. He would talk of Taichung Native-I, but never about himself. It was only after his death that I knew that he was great in so many other spheres also.

Dr. N. G. P. Rao is one of the silent architects of the Green Revolution, particularly in the evolution of the new varieties. I am totally ignorant of pure science, the mysteries and nuances of the world in which Dr. N. G. P. Rao moves, works and dreams. And yet when I met him one day, he almost made me feel superior. You can visualise the magic of Ganga Prasad Rao's humility! (You can edit and improve what I have written").

And Dr. Krishnamurthy, the great soil scientist and project Director, Dry Farming would call me "Sir" in so genuine and sincere a manner, that at times I had felt like running way.

Once in our wanderings through life, we were staying in a remote corner of Perambur, Madras. Our immediate neigbour

was Vanamma from Andhra Pradesh. Her husband and brothers were all workers in the Perambur Railway (Coach Factory) Workshop. Ruggedly handsome, Vannamma had a reputation for a fierce temperament and for keeping her husband under her thumb. Occasionally she would come to our house to borrow kitchen provisions when she ran short. And she would come like a lamb. In those days, I often used to arrive late, as a newsman. But my wife would say: "There is nothing to fear. I have only to raise my voice a little and Vanamma's husband and her brothers would be here in seconds to rescue me. You don't exchange a wore with them. But they all held you in high regard."

Should I write about Tata Satyanarayana. Surya Gopal, T. Ramachandra Rao and Vakati Panduranga Rao? They are so close that it would be like openly praising my brothers. In one of my worst periods of self-inflicted unemployment, I went to Tata for borrowing five rupees He had a hundred rupee note. He told his friends: "I owe this gentleman five rupees. Have you change for this hundred rupee note." Tata was trying to save my face. Of course he did not owe me. There was no need. What is wrong in borrowing five rupees from a friend when you are in need?

May I add a few words more – I think quite a bit about the incomparable Sarada of our Malayalam films and Susheela who can create music out of every letter of every word of every line in a song.

Let me conclude. I have not come across a single really bad Andhra. I have not come across a single mean Andhra. May be as population increases and pressures mount, there might come about bad Andhra. But a mean Andhra, never, Meanness and Andhra Pradesh would never go together. I am sure of that.

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A TOTAL ATTACK ON OUR NEWSPAPERS

C. R. IRANI
PRESIDENT,
Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society.

For about three years now, we have been at the receiving end of all kinds of slanders and abuses. We have been told that we do not "reflect what lies in the minds of the people"...and, more recently, that some of us are "nouse magazines for big business."

I, for one, have always sought to take a charitable view of things and have consoled myself with the thought that most politicians in office throughout the world are compulsive talkers. In August 1971, however, an event took place which changed somewhat drastically the air of indulgence, with which some of us were inclined to view these comments. The details of the "secret" document containing suggested amendments to the Companies Act.....are now well known. I will not dwell on them except to say that this Draft Bill (for the diffusion of ownership) represents a total attack on the ownership, management and editorship of newspapers.

This Draft bill has since been referred to a committee of Ministers of the Central Government, and according to the statement made by the Prime-Minister, the Committee has already had four meetings and is "on the verge of giving their proposals."

In October last year, having waited for a decent interval after the publication of the Draft Bill, I made attempts to find out what was behind these proposals and what it was about the functioning of the Indian Press that the Government did not like. Unfortunately, our attempts have not succeeded so far.

I would like to be noted that although the Ministerial Committee may be on the verge of giving its proposals, the IENS which is representative of all classes and sizes of newspapers, has not yet been given an opportunity to express its views and, as far as I am aware, the other organisations of newspaper interests (like the All

India Newspaper Editors' Conference) have also not been consulted. It has been suggested to us that the time for consultation will be after Government have formulated their views on the subject. I should like to say, with great respect, that I am unable to agree with his approach and I do suggest that the time for consultation is before, and not after, Government have decided upon their course of action.

Later on in the year, a number of developments took place like the imposition of the Excise Duty on newspapers for the first time in our history, the attempt to control the selling prices of newspapers, and the hostile discrimination practised in the distribution of newsprint, not to speak of the recent threats to tax adverti sing budgets–all of which print in one distressing direction.

Now a word about the distribution of newsprint.

The savage cuts imposed on a handful of newspapers amounting, in some cases, to almost a quarter of their annual quota–is estimated to produce a saving of about 5,000 to 7,000 tonnes. Against this, the stocks with Government carried over from the previous year have been admitted to 15,000 tonnes. And when one considers that this year an additional allotment of as much as 20 per cent of the annual quota is to be made available for the asking to any newspaper below 10 pages to raise its pages to 10, the hollowness of the claim that lack of foreign exchange is the reason for this highly discriminatory cut, is even more painfully apparent.

It would be true to say that never in the history of the press in India and, perhaps, of the press in any other liberal and democratic society have so many difficulties been deliberately created to make life impossible, especially for the larger and more prestigious newspapers.

Our reasoned pleas for a fruitful dialogue are answered only by accusations without any facts or arguments to support them, and at the other end of the scale our capacity to provide the kind of service to our readers to which they have become accustomed is attacked with no real benefit or the profession of journalism or the business of newspapers.

The everheated atmosphere cannot last. It will pass. In the meantime we need two things–courage never to submit or yield and a determination to stand together.

TELUGU JOURNALISM: A SURVEY

D. ANJANEYULU
WRITER & JOURNALIST

For a people with a High Degree of Political Consciousness, the Andhras seem to read, surprisingly, few newspapers. It is, ofcourse, not easy to 'assess newspaper readership to ancety. It would be far more eary to get at the sale of a newspaper or all the available newspapers in a particular region. According to a survey made over a decade ago, a little over 16 for every thousand of the population in Andhra were known to read any newspaper, while in the neighbouring Tamil Nadu the corresponding figure was about 38 and the Indian average was 32. The position must have improved over the years, but not changed so radically as to warrant the belief that we have been able to catch up with our neighbours by 1968. One cannot reasonably expect the figure to have risen beyond 20 or 25 at a liberal estimate, in view of the percentage of literacy, which is not yet very high. Comparative figures for the number and variety of newspapers and periodicals published in the Andhra region would not tell a different story. According to a Survey made by the Registrar of Newspapers (published in his Report on The Press in India in 1967), there were eleven Telugu dailies published in Andhra (out of a total of about 260 journals of all kinds, Including 70 weeklies, 125 monthilies, the rest being fortnightlies, quarterlies, annuals etc.) while there were 27 or so in Tamil Nad, nearly 30 in Karnataka (Mysore) and over 40 in Kerala The arithmetical figures might not, of course, mean everything in considering the story of Telugu journalism. For, apart from the fact that some influential newspapers circulated in Andhra Pradesh were for a long time, published from outside its political limits (in the cities Madras and Bangalore, for instance) owing to the accidents of history and the factors related to industrial organisation, standards in journalism need not always be found strictly related to the number and variety or mass popularity of the newspapers and periodicals.

The present state of newspapers in any language cannot be judged solely on the strength of their ancient history (in so far as

newspapers could be ancient), though the latter might well be a factor in our understanding of the former. The real history of Telugu journalism is less than a century old and the effective history of daily journalism, rather less than 70 years, though it is just possible, in an academic pursuit of antequarian scholarship, to stretch it to a century and a quarter or even a century and a half for reinforcing our pride in the past. It was difficult to say for certain which was the first ever Telugu newspaper or even periodical, for many might well compete for that honour. According to some research scholars, that credit belongs to the Satyadoota, a monthly journal, started by the Christian missionaries in 1835 and published by the Bellary Christian Association (printed, presumably, in Madras, as there were at that time no facilities for Telugu printing anywhere else in the presidency). Available chronological evidence points to two other journals, the Vrittentini (about 1840) and the Vartamana Tarangini (1842), also from the city of Madras, presumably the first publications of their kind' meant to purvey news, as could be seen from their names. The first of them, edited by Mandigala Venkatrama Sastri, seems to have been short-lived, while the second, a weekly, owned by one Syed Rahmatullah, and edited by a reputed Telugu scholar of the day, by name Puvvada Venkata Rao, was slightly luckier in his respect, despite the many ups and downs in its struggle for survival. Adequate information about the content of the news and views (if any), in these journals. apart from Gazette notifications, commodity prices and the like, is not forthcoming for one to form a possible inconsequential "vital statistics" on their format, the width of their pages, column length, margin space and so on from the stockrooms of some oriental manuscripts libraries. Other names that survive in the field for our benefit are those of the Hitavadi (1862) – (it is interesting now to compare this name with that of the English daily of Nagpur, Hitavada), the Sri Yakshini (1863), and the Tatvabodhini (1864). From what is almost terra incognita, for all practical purposes, we come to somewhat recognisable terrain with the Andhra Bhasha Sanjivani (1871), edited by the redoubtable Sanskrit Telugu scholar Kokkonda Venkata Ratnam Pantulu, a fore-runner of his younger contemporary, Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, in one respect, and an antagonist in many others.

The Vivekavardhani, started by Veeresalingam in 1874, could safely be said to mark the real beginnings of Telugu journalism, as

we understand it, in the present sensei making due allowance for the distance of time. Starting in a humble way, it way printed in Madras, to begin with, shifting later to Rajahmundry. Though modest in size, its voice was not feeble, and it had a well-defined public spirit and social consciousness inspired by its intrepid founder, It was largely a one-man paper, of which the life and soul was the editor, who was also the printer and proprietor and proof reader and press Assistant, all rolled in one. But it was a terror to Government servants, given to corruption and the high-ups in society steeped in many questionable practices in their private life. The distinction between private integrity and public morality did not seem to bother one who was fired with a passion for purifying life at every level, wherever he could reach it. Politics of the present variety did not quite engage the attention of this journal or its contemporaries, for the excellent reason that they did not exist at that time, when political consciousness, before the birth of the Indian National Congress, was not of the same quality as the country was to see thereafter.

Another notable paperthat saw the light of day in this period (towards the close of the last century) was the ANDHRA PRAKA-SIKA, edited for an impressive and unbroken period of years (nearly a quarter of a century) by A. P. Parthasarathi Naidu, who was an early patriot of the Congress persuasion and a fearless critic of the government, when criticism was called for. It was a weekly to start with, which later came out as a bi-weekly, reverting to its original periodicity, before long. It was a paper of views, as well as of news. An epoch-maker in political journalism in Telugu language, was the KRISHNA PATRIKA, started in the early years of this century (1902) by Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu and Dasu Narayana Rao and others and edited with distinction for nearly four decades (1906–1946) by the late Mutnuri Krishna Rao Pantulu, the impress of whose personality it bore for the best part of its existence.

The history of daily journalism in Telugu is really linked with the starting in Bombay sixty years ago to a weekly by name ANDHRA PATRIKA, by enterprising young man by name Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu (who was, in due course, to attain celebrity as a liberal benefactor as well as businessman, a patriot as well as a press-magnate). He soon shifted the venue of its publication to Madras and managed to convert the weekly into a daily before the out-break

of First World War. The ANDHRA PATRIKA has had an unbroken tenure of public service, accompained by financial prosperity, which is practically unaffected by the ups and downs in the newspaper market. It has an unquestioned monopoly for nearly a quarter century till 1938, when the ANDHRA PRABHA (of the INDIAN EXPRESS group, managed by Ramanath Goenka). presented it with a challenge, outpacing it in circulation and in all other respects, in due course. First edited by Khasa Subba Rao (who was joint editor of the INDIAN EXPRESS), and then by Nyapati Narayanamurti. It however, took the readers by storm by the veritable revolution it achieved under the imaginative stewardship of Narla Venkateswara Rao, who saw it through to its age of maturity and was almost solely responsible for its present stage of pre-eminence. though he had to sever his connection from it nearly a decade ago. The ANDHRA JYOTI, started in Vijayawada by Narla in 1960 has made remarkable progress, after getting over its teething troubles. It has justly earned a name for itself as a quality newspaper, with a sober outlook on men and affairs, marked by reason, commonsense and a scientific temper in every respect. By its special features and centre-page articles, its news letters and topical write-ups, its frequent book-reviews and political profiles, it is striving to be in Andhra Journalism. What the GUARDIAN has long succeeded to become in British journalism. No small achievement this, especially in view of its limited resources, and the competition from older and more powerful institutions.

Mention must be made, in an account of the growth of daily journalism, of the JANAVANI, the popular daily (popular, in evory sense, its style and display, as well as its price), edited by Tapi Dharma Rao, which had its brief hour of glory (1936–1938), before it was snuffed our in 1939. An effective example of political journalism, of the party variety, could be found in the VISALANDHRA (once called PRAJASAKTHI) the organ of the Communist Party, published from Vijayawada. The Golkonda Patrika (founded by the late Suravaram Pratapa Reddi and later edited by N. Narotham Reddy till 1966 when it was closed down) and the Andhra Janata had done their best to promote Andhra consciousness in the Telangana region. Along with these two, the twin cities of Hyderabad–Secunderabad have another Telugu daily the Andhra Bhoomi (Now edited by Gorasastri), but there is certainly room for a few more

The brief, and rather disjointed, survee has not taken into account literary periodicals like the ANDHRA SAHITYA PARISHAT PATRIKA, BHARATHI, SRUJANA and SAMVEDA of the present day, or those of the past like the JAYANTI, UDAYINI, PRATIBHA, SARADHA, SASIREKHA; GOWTAMI. etc. of an earlier day. There are a good number of specialised periodicals catering to the needs of women, children, filmgoers and others. But only a few manage to survive, like those of the CHANDAMAMA group, which has children's magazines in five Indian languages, besides Telugu. One of the sad features of periodicals is the gradual disappearance of the more serious and substantial (in reading matter) magazines, which are unable to stand the demands of an advanced industry, with its commercial orientation and their replacement by two or three well-produced illustrated weeklies, which look almost alike, at first sight, with a much of the much-ness that is apt to pall on the more perceptive reader. A welcome development, however, is the growth of specialisation in the various departments of daily journalism which is acquiring a higher professional standard. It augurs well for the future, despite a few disturbing trends like revivalism in social thinking and factionalism in politicai thinking which might, after all, be a passing phase in the evolution of, new-but-old, developing societies.

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" We have the proud tradition that in our long history there has not been no instance, when India sent out her invading army to another country. We have sent out conquerors of a very different type, conquerors in the realm of culture, in the realm of knowledge, in the realm of religion."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

NEW TRENDS IN TELUGU JOURNALISM

VIDWAN VISWAM
JOURNALIST.

Of all the changes the Modern Age has seen-Social, political and cultural–those in the field of journalism are the subtlest, strongest and deepest. Language and expression, news reports and comments, headlines and page make-ups, and a lot more, are affected by these changes, which are many and continuous.

We can have a clear idea of the enormity of this revolution if we place that old–time journal, the Vartamana Tharangini, by the side of any of the present day newspapers. This idea would be equally clear if we compare the nationalist newspapers of the freedom-struggle days with those of today.

At the height of that movement in the newspapers influenced by it, the language became more vigorious and got closer to life; new comments and features also made their appearance.

It is but natural that a number of changes in methods and ideas, as well as outlook, shuld follow the attainment of independence. But these changes are found to be neither radical nor so revolutionary. It was true that Telugu Journalism had taken big strides under the impetus of the national movement, but the needs of those days were very different, like the readers and their requirements. It is not surprising that the speeches of the national leaders dominated the scene of those days. Reports of their speeches filled the column–space in newspapers. The conception of news value was accordingly very different from what it is today. The burden of the song in those speeches was the economic and other evils of foreign rule. Another recurring theme of those speeches was the glorification of India's distant past. It was found necessary, understandably so, to create self-cofidence in a people whose culture could not stand the powerful impact of the West. At the same time, some of the Indian intellectuals of the day began to see the need

for imbibing the best that was in the foreign culture, for the rejuvenation of their own. Whatever be the social, cultural, and literary contribution of this class, their subservience to the rules of the day began to alienate them from the Indian mosses. It was true that literature had flourished and spread out into new forms. But when the involvement with the freedom struggle became more intence, the lake of attention to literature and the arts could not be helped in the next generation.

The importance given earlier to matters literary and cultural began now to be taken away by the politics of the freedom struggle. This had necessarily to change after freedom and due attention had to be given to social and literary, as well as political problems. This agonising readjustment has resulted in the new trends that we see in the journalism of today.

The disproportionate space given to political speches and ministerial pronouncements is but a hangover from the past. When the people at large are striving to improve their own lot, their problems and aspirations have to be reflected in the newspapers too. But it is not being done effectively enough. Editorial comments and letters to the editor are generally pressed into service in this connection.

Though National self-respect is necessary, it has a way of turning into self-love and vain glory about the past which have to be kept under check. Not many are the papers which are using the necessary restraint. A few of them are, however, striving their best to counter the forces of revivalism. More power to their below.

If our Democracy is to grow strong, religious and communal rivalries have to be eliminated We do not seem to be changing socially to the same extent as we have changed politically. It is not enough if the rules alone change, for the good of democracy.

Religious and communal rivalries were not much in evidence in the twenties and thirties, But now after freedom, we seem to be going back in this direction. Atleast fear so – and not without reason, I hope. In the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office, these feelings are having a free play. While some influential people are strengthing this, a few newspapers are trying to fight it out.

This apart, a kind of sensationalism seems to be creeping into journalism. It is, no doubt, necessary to expose the wrong-doers in high places, but these exposures should not be allowed to deteriorate into blackmailing for private gain. This tendency needs to be checked by journalists themselves, by a kind of self-regulation.

It is disturbing to note that ministers and high officials are growing more and more touchy about criticism directed against them. The new press laws with which the freedom of newspapers criticism is sought to be curbed are a dangerous portent. Does it promote the concept of "Secularism"?

The introduction of background articles and features, throwing light on the forces behind the news, is a welcome development. But they do not seem to be properly planned according to the felt needs of the Indian situation. Sometimes they are just mechanical translations of the agency material. Anyway, it holds out some promise.

Then comes the contribution of journalism to literature especially the weeklies and monthlies, which had substantially aided the growth of creative writing. Most of the stories and novels of the day have been published in the journals, before being reprinted in book–form. With the possible exception of poetry, all forms of writing had gained by this. The journals had also helped the publication of illustrated features on the arts. It would be no exaggeration to say that about 90 per cent of current Telugu literature is seeing light through the periodicals.

As for the instrinsic merit of this writing in journals, it is enough to say that it reflects the quality of contemporary literature. He would be rash who would dismiss the whole lot of this as mere, trash – good only for the day. Writing was not at all first – rate, neither yesterday nor today. It was not as it the fall came today, all of a sudden. In the past we had a limited and cultivated readership. Today readers have multiplied enormously, not all of them are highly educated. To condemn the whole volume of writing as useless, without examining it, would, be to write oneself down as being uncritical.

Readership has changed, what with the economic and industrial pattern, the growing urbanisation and the educated housewife,

otherwise enemployed. The kind of literature purveyed to them might not be all first-rate. But at no time was any writing all the first-rate either.

Readers of Telugu, with a solid grounding in English, are gradually decreasing. Readers knowing Telugu only are increasing. These are the factors that determine the quality of writing too.

The rise of pornographic writing, with an eye on its commercial possibilities, is not a happy sign. Luckily, it is on the decrease now. But we cannot deny that there is a lot of "Sex" in all writing in general. There is also a corresponding fall in variety of appeal.

As for the language, I feel, there has been a marked fall In the quality. Errors of grammar, idiom and usage are increasingly in evidence. Echoes of English or other languages could be heard in some of the writings. Diffuseness and lack of style seem to spoil some writing, detracting from directness and force. With a greater command on the language, one could expect a better quality of writing.

Telugu journalism of today is trying to catch up with the fast-changing world. It is a good sign, though it is too early to say how far it will succeed in its attempts. I expect it will be able to fulfil its aims in effecting a change in our life and literature.

In this connection, I cannot but pay my tribute to those dedicated stalwarts of Telugu journalism like the late G. Harisarvothama Rao, Deshodharaka K. Nageshwara Rao Panthulu and Mutnuri Krishna Rao. The names of S. G. Acharya and Tapi Dharma Rao, who are responsible for effecting many changes in modern journalism, deserve mention, as also that of S. Sambhu Prasad.

For many of the revolutionary changes In Modern Telugu journalism – headlines, news display, page make–up, and the newspaper idiom, all of which have gained the widest currency, the credit goes to one man, more than any other and that is V.R. Narla.

Telugu journalism today is making a rapid progress, gaining in depth as well as width of influeuce and appeal. All the writers of the day have their share in this adventure, and I hope and trust that their striving will find its fulfilment.

GANDHIJI IN TELUGU LITERATURE

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On this happy occasion it is only natural that our thoughts should turn with gratitude towards the Father of our Nation. Gandhiji was not only a prolific writer who wielded his pen as a weapon in the Freedom Strnggle, but also was the subject of much creative writing in Indian languages, during the struggle and also after independance. It would be rewarding to consider the treatment of the Gandhian theme in Telugu literature. Describing his impressions of the Andhra region in Young India on 15th April 1921, Gandhiji observed; "It has hard, staunch workers. It has resources, it has poetry, it has faith, it has the spirit of sacrifice". He visited the Telugu speaking areas of the old Madras Presidency and Hyderabad State several times during the National struggle, and declared that the people of this region had 'captivated' him. The Telugu people in their turn were equally captivated by Gandhiji, and many of them accepted him at once as their master. Love had at last come to their door-steps, and their hearts were opened wide. After his advent life could not be the same for them as before, Suddenly it acquired a new meaning and purpose. Spinning wheels soon made their appearance on the scene, women cheerfully parted with their jewels for the cause of Swaraj, and frequent visits to the prison-house became a way of life for many, This awakening was, of course, bound to find expression in the creative literature of the period. Part of this literature in Telugu has grown round the figure of Gandhiji and is intended to laud and propagate his doctrines. The Gandhian theme has heen treated in many literary forms in Telugu, and has given rise to a few works of artistic excellence.

Gandhiji's reference to the existence of poetry in Andhra was probably prompted by the fact that he had often been presented with welcome addresses in verse during his tour of the region. Much of what he heard at those meetings was, no doubt, more verse,

devoutly, if somewhat clumsily, composed by the local poets specially for the occasion. But, then, he has also provided inspiration for some fine poems and scngs in Telugu.

Among narrative poems on the Gandhian theme the most important is "Mahatma Katha". Its author, Tummala Sitarama Murti, has been hailed as 'the court poet of the Mahatma'. for he has spent the best part of his literary career in narrating the story of Gandhiji's many-splendoured life in two major poetical works, The first of these, "Atma Katha", appeared in 1951. It is a verse translation of Gandhiji's autobiography, and, therefore, ends with an account of the Nagpur Congress. The rest of that sublime story is presented on an epic scale in the second work. "Mahatma Katha". which made its appearance in 1968. In "Atma Katha" the story had to be told from the view-point of Gandhiji, while in "Mahatma Katha" the poet enjoyed greater freedom to Extol his hero and highlight the many facets of his personality. He could also weave skilfully into the main texture of the story moving accounts of the sacrifices made by some Andhra followers of Gandhiji. In theme, style and narrative technique the two poems resemble Tikkana's Telugu rendering of part of the "Mahabharata". They too deal with a historic conflict between Truth and Untruth, and describe the deeds of a great soul.

Gandhiji's life is the theme of another narrative poem in Telugu, "Sri Gandhi Bharatamu", by Maringanti Seshacharyulu. The author finds similarities between the Satyagraha movement for Independence and Kurukshetra war, and has planned to write the poem in 18 cantos, but it is still incomplete.

Mention is made of Gandhiji's concern for the down trodden masses in an unusual way in G. Joshua's poem 'Gabbilamu'. After Kalidasa made his Yaksha sent a message of love and hope to his beloved in Alaka through the first cloud of the Ashadha month, poets have sometimes chosen birds like the swan and the parrot as carriers of messages. In Joshua's Gabbilamu a poor man persuades the bat to be his messenger and carry his tale of woe to the Lord in Kailasr. The Yaksha in Kalidasa's poem asks the cloud to mtke it a point to visit Ujjain on the way and be blessed, even though the route is circuitous. So does the poor man in Joshuva's poem asks the bird whether it has on her way visited the sage of Sabarmati. a

pure soul who is the equal of Buddha and one who does not bend his head low before the arrogant foreign ruler.

Those who seek to deify Gandhiji and make poetry a vehicle for their adoration have often followed the time-honoured custom of composing on him a sataka, that is, a poem consisting of a hundred stanzas on one subject and usually ending with a common refrain. The trend started in 1921, when Gandhiji made an extensive tour of the Andhra region, and seems to continue to this day. The sataka has often been chosen by Telugu poets in the past to express their devotion and the agony of their souls to their favourite deities, and it touched great heights in such works as Palkuriki Somanadha's Vrishadhipa Sataka and Dhurjati's Srikalahasteeswara Sataka. The Telugu satakas on Gandhiji are numerous, but few of them show such literary merit. Other literary forms such as the balled and the dandaka have also been employed for singing the praises of the Mahatma, and they too are rarely marked by artistic skill.

It is to the short poem, the lyric, and the song that one must turn to find some fine works on the Gandhian theme in Telugu. Since 1921 every major event in his life had been celebrated in song and verse.

The beginning of a new age in our national history—the Age of Gandhiji—is proclaimed by Balijepalli Lakshmikantam in "Swarajya rathamu", in which he described Swarajya—self dule or independence—as a chariot and Gandhiji as its charioteer, and asks the people to come forward to pull it. This metaphor of Swarajya as a chariot is also employed by Duvvuri Rami Reddi in his poem "Swatantrya rathamu". "No horses of divine origin, no elephants are there to drag this chariot. It is the people that hold its ropes and make it move", he tells us.

The impact of Gandhiji on the people of India and the mood of the age have been captured well by Puripanda Appalaswami in a memorable poem. The poet addresses Gandhiji, and declares:

> "Thrilled by the hunting tune of your battle–song,
> and stirred by the beat of the war-drum,
> stirred and dazed,
> I too have rushed to the battle–field,

The rampart was built of stone,
and the battlement with mud ;
the castle within was of bronze.
And yet I too have lept like a lion.

When your conch sounded,
and your eyes commanded,
and your forefinger gave the sign,
I too have become a mighty force
and stood near the sacrificial altar".

He announces at the end that a new age is dawning and that a long-cherished dream is getting fulfilled.

The transformation wrought by Gandhiji in the people of India has been a favourite theme with several poets. C. Narayana Reddi describes the figure of the Mahatma as 'the Himalaya mountain in miniature', and goes on to say.

'You have planted Nandana gardens in Hell,
and brought music into narrow hearts,
changed bond slaves into tiger cubs,
and transformed mere sods into diamonds."

"Karunasri"–Jandhyala Papayya Sastri–also hails the Mahatma as the lofty Himalaya mountain, and as a holy temple of righteousness and a strange university. "To the disciples who study in the college of Gandhiji the lathi becomes a bunch of flowers, the prison the guest-house at a wedding, and any hardship a pleasurable experience."

The Himalaya mountain is, of course, an overworked simile in this contex. Adavi Bapiraju compares the grandeur of Gandhiji's life with a high peak of the Himalaya, the stage for Siva's dance. Dasarathi too brings in the comparison while describing the Mahatma moving among people, but he also finds the scene suggestive of the ocean of milk follwing towards us.

Gandhiji's creed of non-violence has understandably led poets to compare him with Budda and Christ. He has also been compared sometimes with Yudhistaira for his moral stature, and the epithet 'Ajatasatru' fits equally well for both. At least one Telugu poet, Mudigonda Veerabhadra Murti, has declared that Gandhiji is superior

to Yudhisthira because he did not utter a lie as a measure of expediency during a battle.

Those who consider Gandhiji an incarnation of the divine spirit invoke Krishna's assurance in the Bhagavadgita—"Sambhavami Yuge Yuge"—in support of their belief. Even others have compared Gandhiji with Krishna, the Protector of Panchali's honour and the Charioteer whose efforts in battle are crowned with success. Viswanadha Satyanarayana has compared Gandhiji with Krishna, the sound of the spinning wheel with the melody flowing from the flute, and the masses of India with the Gopis of Vraja who come under the spell of the divine Master. Veluri Sivarama Sastri finds similarity between the two even in the manner in which death came to them. He points out that the incarnation then came to an end as a result of an arrow accidentally shot by a savage, and that in the case of Gandhiji to life come to an end as a result of a similar, but deleberate, shot by a savage.

Many elegies appeared in the wake of Gandhiji's assassination, partly to express grief and partly to find comfort in the thought that he is, after all, immortal. One poet suggested on the occasion that perhaps the atmosphere of Naokhali spread to heaven too and that Gandhiji was therefore snatched away from our midst to preach his doctrine of love there.

Despair and self-reproach are very much in evidence in the poems that have been written recently to commemorate Gandhiji's birth centenary. Had he not died then as a result of the assassin's bullet, they say, he would surely die now of broken heart at the shameless conduct of his countrymen. People have forgotten his message and invoke his name in vain to promote their own interests. It must be said that this note of despair is surely a healthy sign, for it indicates that the 'still, small voice' within us has not been stifled.

Among the many songs that enjoyed popularity during our struggle for Independence. Basavaraju Appa Rao's songs of Gandhiji need a special mention. They evoke visions of the seemingly frail figure commanding the whole nation to stand up and fight oppression " What does it matter, " says one of the songs, " if our Gandhiji wears only a loin–cloth or was born in a family of shop–keepers. The whole world trembles when he marches forward, and when he

utters a word it has the finality of the Creator's writ." In refreshing contrast with this superstitious veneration stands Devulapalli Venkata Krishna Sastri's song "Gandhi Yugam" which emphasizes the humanity of Gandhiji, and states that while in the past God used to come down as an incarnation to reach man in the Gandhian era it is man that strives to reach God by realising his latent divinity. It states that "it is enough if we follow Bapu and attain Siva's stature by suppressing venom in our throats and pouring out the water of Ganga from our heads."

Gandhiji's influence can be traced in many mythological and historical plays in Telugu, notably in the plays that deal with the humiliation of Draupadi in the Kaurava court and the Kurukshetra battle, but plays that deal directly with his activities or introduce him a character are not many. The few that do exist were written to popularise his doctrine of Satyagraha, and are not often characterised by profundity and artistic insight. Among them mention must be made of two plays by Damaraju Pundarikakshudu– 'Gandhi mahodayamu' and 'Gandhi Vijayam'. In the first of these a meeting of all the former incarnations takes place in heaven and free India from political bondage. Gandhiji is seen consoling Mother India at the end of the play. The second, 'Gandhi Vijayamu' presents the major events in his career upto the end of the Vagpur Congress. An invocation from the play has become very popular, in which the producer says: "He carries no arms, and is not given to histrionics in speech. He has no army to attack the enemy. and his body is frail. Anger is entirely alien to him. To that great being, Gandhi, who is strong in mind shall I bow devoutly to achieve Swaraj."

Sripada Krishna Murti Sastri covers much the same ground in his 'Gandhi Vijayadhwaja natakamu.' In that play Gandhiji is shown as receiving strenth from the dying Lokamanya Tilak, and it ends with the Nagpur Congress in which Gandhiji emerges as the sole leader of the national liberation movement. He was also introduced as a character in a few other plays, such as Pandita Sitarama 'Swarajya rathamu' and Jandhyala Ayyavari Sastri's "Ali Prabhritula Nirbandhamu.'

In Telugu fiction too Gandhiji's influence on the general outlook of the people has been treated in many novels, notably in

Unnava Lakshminarayan's " Malapalli ", Viswanadha Satyanarayana's "Veyi Padagalu", Adavi Bapiraju's "Narayana Rao" and "Konangi", Buchhi Babu's "Chivaraku Migiledi", but he appears as a character in very few works. One of these, 'Kollayi gattite nemi' by Mahidhara Ramamohana Rao, seeks to depict the political awakening in rural India after the advent of Gandhiji. During his tour of Andhra in 1921 Gandhiji visits the village Munganda, and that visit has farreaching consequences for the inhabitants. The conflict between the followers of tradition and the advocates of social reform is presented in it faithfully, and the subtle change that Gandhiji's visit brings among the orthodox people of the village is ably traced.

In Sumalata's 'Jeevanakalasam' the hereoine Vasantalakshmi runs away from the hostile atmosphere of her husband's parental home to Gandhiji's Ashram in Wardha and tells her tale of woe to the Mahatma. He scolds her for her rash act and makes her summon her relations to that place. With their consent she continues her studies under his benign guidance for a while, and her subsequent activities are directed towards the realisation of Gandhian ideals in life.

Gandhiji has thus been the subject of much creative writing in Telugu. If part of it served its humble purpose of awakening popular interest in the national struggle for independence and is now forgotten, the rest endures to bear testimony to the sway the Mahatma had over the hearts and minds of his fellow men.

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" I must say that those Hindus and Muslims who are always looking backward, always clutching at things which are stipping away from their graps, area singularly pathetic sight, I do not wish to damn the past or to rejcct it. For there is so much that is singularly beautiful in our past. But it is not the beautiful that these people clutch at, but that is seldom worthwhile and is often harm full.

—Jawaharlal Nehru.

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

DR. M. RADHAKRISHNA SARMA
READER IN HISTORY
Osmania University.

Archaeological finds including monuments, inscriptions, coins and other remains are one of the principal sources for the construction of the early and medieval periods of the History of India[1]. The decipherment of the Brahmi script before the middle of the 19th century unveiled several nobles and lofty chapters of early history[2], the excavations in the Indus Valley in the first quarter of the present certury, lifted India to the venerable position of being the cradle of an early civilization[3] and the Nagarjunakonda remains opened up a jewel case of hitherto unknown historical links of the History of Deccan[4]. The building up of the archaeological sources and the writing of Indian History was going on for more than a century before 1947, when India attained Independence[5]. The problems, zeal and outlook of an Independent Nation are different from those of a slave country whose activities are restricted by the whims of the governing nation. The need was realised for presenting Indian History in its proper perspective, for revealing the glory of Ancient India and for placing Indian studies in the current of inter-disciplinary approaches being made in the advanced academic fields of the world. The chief source for the Ancient History of India service for fulfilling the object of an Independent Country, i.e., to present its past as correctly as is possible to the citizens of the world In this sacred task government departments, numerous individual scholars, Universities and research organisations are participating. In the brief scope offered in this paper, I shall sketch some developments pertaining to Archaeological studies in the Post-Independent India.

The ancient historical period of India begins, on the present evidence, in about the 6th century B.C. But the prehistoric period of India, including all the phases of the Stone Age, covered a period approximately from 15.000 to to 5.000 B.C. On the available data

the protohistoric stage of India seems to have lasted from about 5000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. Archaeology is the principal source for the reconstruction of these various stages of Indian History. In the twenty-five years since the day India attained Independence Archaeological Survey of India, Universities and Research Organisations have been working on the large gaps that are found in the studies in the above periods. Prehistoric remains in parts of Andhra, Karnatak, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Malwa, Central India, Southern Rajputana, Orissa, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Eastern Punjab and other places have been surveyed and discoveries reported. Extensions of the Harappa or Indus Civilization have been located in East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, North Rajputana, Rutch, Saurashtra and Gujarat. Some progress in the direction of deciphering the Indus script has been made. A phenomenal increase in our knowledge of the protohistoric cultures of the Peninsular India is achieved. Megalits (from the Greek : megas great and lithos stone) which have been known since the last century have been surveyed at a greater length in the past two and half decades, these monuments, which are burials and memorials, throwing great light on the early period of ancient history.

Archaeolegy has now extended the frontiers of its source material. For about 100 years coins and inscriptions were the only sources for dating the various historical periods of Ancient India. Now pottery has become a very significant source. In recent time, a new thing introduced by archaeology is Carbon–14 method of dating which is the technique of determining chronology of ancient civilizations by measuring the radiocarbon content in organic remains. This is useful not only for dating the prehistoric or protohistoric cultures, but is equally useful for dating the historical periods as well. In the last 25 years, a number of sites all over India like at Charsada near Peshawar, Sisupalgrah and Nagarjunakonda have enabled us today to know more about the life in the ancient past. Besides these discoveries and studies in Epigraphy, Numismatics, Art and Architecture have amazingly grown[7]. But for a country of our extent, magnitude and antiquity there is a great amount of work awaiting to be done.

The principal body that has been responsible for the development and progress in Archaeology is the Archaeological Survey of

India with its ten circle offices viz., Frontier Circle, Srinagar. North-Western Circle, Dehra Dun; Northern Circle, Agra; Central Circle, Bhopal; Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna, Eastern Circle, Calcutta; South-Eastern Circle, Hyderabad; South-Western Circle, Aurangabad; Western Circle, Baroda; and Southern Circle, Madras. It has eleven separate specialised branches dealing with excavation, prehistory, epigraphs, chemical preservation, gardens, museums etc. The school of Archaeology, run by the Survey, at New Deihi, trains students in practical archaeology. To provide facilities for archaeological dating by radioactive carbon, a Radiocarbon Laboratory has been set up at The Tata Institute of Fundamental Reseaach' Bombay.. In addition to the work done earlier, a village to-village survey is being carried out since 1957 to explore the archaeological wealth of India. A temple survey project for North and South India has been established. Among the institutions other than the Archaeological Survey of India making significant contribution to the progress of the various fields of Archaeology, are the Deccan College Post–graduate and Research Institute, Poona and the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna and the Universities of Calcutta, Allahabad, Sagar, Baroda, Benaras, Patna and Madras. About 200 museums, including the National Museum at Delhi. which are now in India, display the archaeological wealth of India. Museology has become and independent discipline of study.

The progress of Archaeological studies made by the State Department of Archaeology of the former Hyderabad State is now being kept up by the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. The Yeleswaram and Peddabankur excavations, the several publications brought out by the department and the valuable survey being made by the epigraphy section of the department are eloquent testimony for the work being turned out by the departments[8]. Archaeology has come to the Universities and the Osmania University in recent times has begun to make its contrition to archaeological studies.

As in other fields, India has made definite progress in Archaeoligical studies since it attained Independence. As in other fields, the shortcomings and the untouched areas in Archaeology also need to be tackled. Archaeology is compounded of many disciplines and calls into service several skills. A knowledge of languages, Chemistry, Geology, Photography, Engineering, Pottery will be needed. Many

types of remains like coins, Jewellery, precious stones, bones, etc., are dug up in excavations which need to be read and interpreted. Archaeology is a complement of history and related to Anthropology, No individual can excel in all these fields. Team work and inter-disciplinary studies can alone further Archaeological studies in the country.

References

1. Archaeology derives its name from the Greek words, 'archaious' meaning 'ancient' and 'logos' or 'knowledge'. Defining broadly, archaeology is the systematic study of antiquities and the weaving of earlier history of nations and peoples from the remains of the buildings, burial places, utensils and ornaments, belonging to a period of which we have few or no written records.

2. Epigraphy or the study of inscriptions constitutes the most substantial part of all the varied data afforded by archaeology as sources of history. Ancient inscriptions would have remained a sealed book to us, but for the tremendous efforts on the part of the pioneers in the field. Special credit is due to James Prinsep, who did marvellous work in deciphering the edicts of Asoka and supplied the key to the forgotten Brahmi, the earlist historical script of India.

3. The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa revolutionized the conception of Indian Civilization and culture. In describing these discoveries Sir John Marshall wrote in 1924 :-

   'Hitherto India has almost universally been regarded as one of the younger countries of the world. Apart from palaeolithic and neolithic implements and such rude primitive remains as the Cyclopean walls of Rajagriha, no monuments of note were known to exist of an earlier date than the third century B. C., when Greece had already passed her zenith and when the mighty empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt had been all but forgotten. Now, at a single bound, we have taken back our knowledge of Indian Civilization some 3000 years earlier and have established the fact that in the third millenium before christ, and even before that, the peoples of the Punjab and Sind were

living in well-built cities and in possession of a relatively mature culture with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of pictographic writing'.

4. Till these excavations were conducted it was not realised that the source for many historical links relating to the Deccan history are to be looked for in the Deccan itself. The discovery of the plans of several Hindu temples in the Nagarjunakonda Valley, for example, has revolutionised the theories of art and religious history of the Deccan and South India,

5. It was in the year 1862 that the Archaeological Survey of India was established. But the interest in all old things goes back to the year 1784, when Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in Calcutta with the express purpose of enquiring, among other things into the History and the Antiquities of Asia, The Archaeological Survey of India celebrated its Centenary in 1961. A large–scale exhibition presenting a panorama of India's archaeological wealth and the first Inter national Conference on Asian Archaeology were held in New Delhi to commemorate the occasion.

6. For the various contributions made refer the publications of the Archaeological Survey of India: Indian Archaeology and Ancient India. For a brief outline of these developments read Subba Rao, B., 'The Personality of India', 2nd Edition, Baroda 1258 and Sanalia, H, D.. 'Indian Archaeology Today', Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1962.

7, For the contributions in these branches refer Indian Archaeology, Ancient India, Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.

8. Consult the various publications of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh including Annual Reports on Epigraphy and Epigraphia Andhrika.

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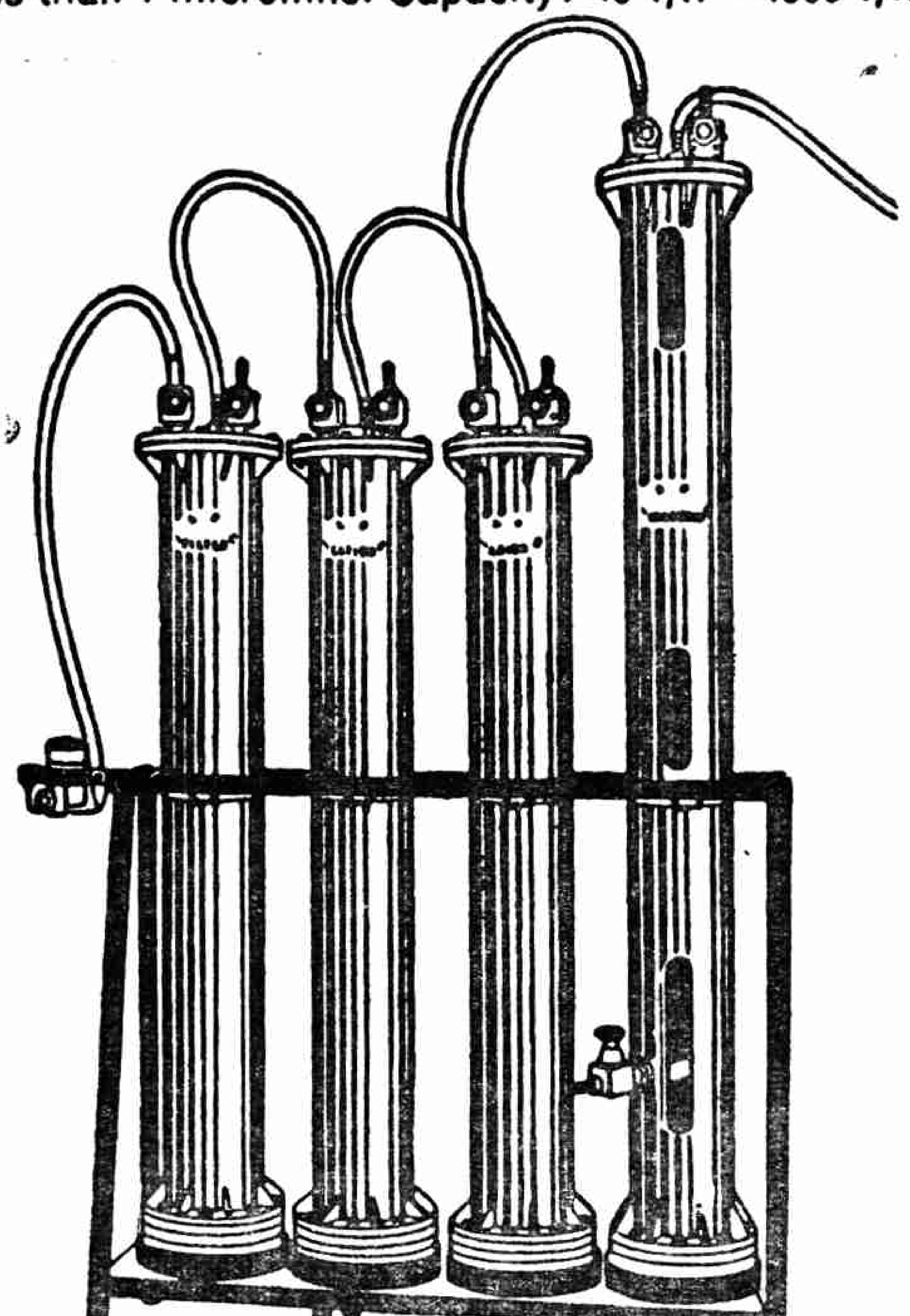
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	శ్రీ మల్లాది సూర్యనారాయణశాస్త్రి	
3.	ఆంధ్ర వాఙ్మయ చరిత్రము	4_00
	డా॥ దివాకర్ల వేంకటావధాని	
4.	ప్రబంధ పాత్రలు	2_00
	శ్రీ కేశవపంతుల నరసింహశాస్త్రి	
5.	గీర్వాణ రూపకము	2_00
	కృత్తివాస తీర్థులు	
6.	విశ్వనాథ సాహిత్యోపన్యాసములు	1_25
7.	వాఙ్మయ వ్యాసమంజరి	8_00
	డా॥ నేలటూరి వెంకటరమణయ్య	
8.	ప్రాక్పశ్చిమ తత్త్వశాస్త్రము	20_00
	(2 సంపుటాలు)	
9.	స్త్రీల పౌరాణికపు పాటలు	10_00
	కృష్ణశ్రీ సంకలనము	
10.	భారతీయ చేతి పరిశ్రమలు	3_00
	డా॥ ఆర్. వి. రావు	
11.	మన హాస్యము	6_75
	శ్రీ మునిమాణిక్యం నరసింహారావు	
12.	తెలుగు హిందీ స్వబోధిని	3_00
13.	తెలుగు ఉర్దూ స్వబోధిని	3_00
14.	భాషాశాస్త్ర వ్యాససంపుటి	8_00
	డా॥ తూమాటి దోణప్ప	
15.	తెలుగు సారస్వతములో రామకథ	8_00
	కుమారి పండా శమంతకమణి	

ప్రతులకు:

ఆంధ్ర సారస్వత పరిషత్తు

తిలక్ రోడ్, హైదరాబాద్_500001.

SOME NEW TASKS IN PLANNING

C. SUBRAMANIAM

UNION MINISTER FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

The Planning Commission was reconstituted in April 1971 soon after the mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha and the formation of the new Cabinet. The Prime-Minister, who is also the Chairman of the Commission, has emphasised more than once that this reconstitution was done not because of any lack of confidence in the old commission, but because it was felt desirable to inject new blood as part of the normal process of renewal which any organism has to go through, if it is to remain vigorous and healthy. I have had the greatest respect for the late Prof. Gadgil and his able, experienced and dedicated team. We in the new Commission share with them a continuity of purpose and adherence to the objectives and strategy of planning in India.

Mid-Term Appraisal :

The first task of the Commission naturally has been to take a good look at where we stand in the progress of the Fourth Plan and where we should be moving from here. One part of this exercise was to take a hard look at the progress, shortfalls, bottle necks and the general performance in the different sectors of our plans in the states and at the centre, and in both the public and private sectors. We have completed this exercise and released the Mid-Term Appraisal document which, subject to all the limitations and gaps in our information and monitoring system to evaluate physical performance of various schemes and programmes, sets out in some detail what has been achieved and what we have failed to achieve in different regions and in different sectors of the economy. We are hoping that by highlighting the progress and the problems in their perspective various planning and implementing agencies in this vast sub-continent will be benefited in correcting their course wherever such correction is indicated, and in mapping more efficiently the direction and content of their programmes for the future.

Such stock-taking has in fact to be a multi-dimentional exercise if it is to have its full impact on the progress of planning in a federal democracy. This appraisal, moreover, provided an opportunity for the Commission to share its assessment and its thinking with a much wider audience, including legislators, academicians, Social workers and other leaders of public opinion for them to express their views–a process of consultation of great relevance and importance to planning by consent. We are in fact looking for such multi-level dialogues with various agencies and interests. We are under no illusion that all wisdom in planning is centred in the Planning Commission at Delhi.

The second part of the exercise leading directly from an appraisal of what has been achieved to see what can be done at this state to reflect the new priorities contained in the ruling party's election manifesto. Our commitment to improve the lot of the common man and ensure rapid growth with economic and social justice is firm and resolute. The events which were just beginning to happen when the New Commission was constituted namely, the massive problem of the influx of refugees from Bangla Desh and the subsequent military hostilities have inevitably cut into the resources available–in both physical and financial terms–for development expenditure. Our immediate endeavour was to safeguard to the maximum extent the main priorities in our development plans and ensure that a tragedy of this kind does not derail our long term efforts.

The full impact on our developmental programmes of events connected with the birth of Bangla Desh is yet to be assessed. There is also a continuing call on our resources to help rehabilitate and reconstruct the new nation that has come into existence at such heavy cost in terms of life and means of liveli-hood. It is worth recording here that the additional resource mobilisation by the Centre and by the States in the wake of this Emergency has been extremely creditable. The budget proposals presented to Parliament in May 1971 contained additional tax measures of the order of Rs: 200/- crores annually. Subsequently there have been two supplementary budgets, containing provisions for raising additional resources of the order of Rs. 175/. crores a year. Added to this have been the efforts of various state Governments in the same cause, totalling nearly Rs. 100/- crores a year. All in all,

therefore, we have managed to initiate during the year measures for gathering to the public exchequer additional resources to the tune of about Rs. 475/- crores a year (without taking into account Rs. 100/- crores raised by way of the special defence loan)

Compared with the immediate and direct expenditure on refugee relief and on the military operations, this has been a very sizable effort. It may be expected that the continuance of these measures in the coming years, after the drawal on account of Bangla Dash gets reduced, can produce an appreciable net addition to our resources that can be presented into service for development purposes.

Another major task for us has been in initiating work on the Fifth Plan which is to commence in about two years from now. We are of the view that there is room for improvement to the technical content of planning. We are as such taking a series of steps to improve the overall quality of planning. As part of this attempt, we are attaching priority to comprehensive surveys and investigations of our natural resources. A considerable amount of work has been done already in this area in the matter of geological, forest, irrigation and power resources. However, it is necessary to carry them forward in greater depth and detail. At the same time more intensive efforts need to be taken in the matter of certain other resources such as groundwater, non-ferrous metals, non-metallic minerals such as sulphur, and rock phosphate. This area of natural resources survey is therefore one to which we attach priorty from many points of view. Among other things, it provides the basic infra-structure for planned long-term development and is a means of employing the large reservoir of trained technical manpower that we have with us.

Continuous Shelf of Projects :

Another area where the technical quality of planning requires improvement is in the formulation of carefully investigated projects whether in industry, agriculture or social services. The Planning process in the past has tended to take place in jerks, with a great deal of activity at the time of Plan formulation and a tapering off the period following the commencement of Plan. It is important that this lacuna should be corrected by building

up a continuous shelf of projects so that before an investment programme is provided for in the Plan, its cost and benefits feasibility, raw material availability, market potential, etc. would all have been carefully investigated in advance.

This concern in fact reflects a larger attempt on our part to harness effectively what modern science and technology have to offer for achieving developmental goals. What we have been conscious of for a long time and what was so pointedly brought home to us during the emergency last year, is that our technological capability has to improve substantially in many areas if we are to get the maximum out of our resources, take adequate care of the basic minimum needs of our growing population and achieve this without depending unduly on external sources. There are many areas in which there is considerable scope for us to reduce dependence on foreign conutries. We import commodities, processes and equipment over a wide range of fields where, given concentrated attention by our competent scientists and technologists, we should be able to cut free of our dependence on foreign sources.

It is this task that has been the focus of special attention for the high level National Committee on Science and Technology ever since its inception in Novemner 1971. This Committee has constituted compact expert groups to go into the technological problems in the exploitation of our mineral wealth, supply of fuel and power, fabrication of heavy engineering equipment, production of chemicals, aeronautics and agricultural equipment. A critical analysis of our existing capability and identification of the additional research and development effort that is needed for improving our skills and achieving a greater measure of self-reliance are now under groups in consultation with experts drawn from the private and the public sectors. The national laboratories under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research have also been entrusted with a similar task of rearranging their research priorities with reference to our socio-economic objectives and working out time-bound programmes for improving our production and processing capacities.

Technical Plan

This, in fact, is an attempt to sketch a science and technology plan for the country as a whole as a counterpart to and in

fact, the main tool for achieving, our socio-economic development plans. My experience with the agricultural scientists in 1960 as well as my continuing dialogue with scientists and technologists after I assumed the planning portfolio when I posed the problem to them makes me optimistic that they will come forward with a sense of professional pride and dedcation to take up this challenge.

We are also increasingly concerned with the problems of environment and balanced utilisation of our natural endowments. We are anxious that the kind of problems that face us in metropolitan Calcutta should not repeat themselves in other cities 5 years, 10 years or 20 years from now. Proper urban planning with all of the details of housing, transport, water supply and other social amenties will thus have to be studied in an integrated way. Our primary objective is to preserve and improve the quality of living for the masses. In the country side the environmental problems are no less pressing, even if problems of overcrowding may appear to be less intense than in the cities. The same consideration for ecological balance also apply in planning the exploitation of our mineral ocean and forest resources. In order that these problems may receive continuous and co-ordinated attention, a National Commitee for Environmental Planning and Co-ordination composed of experts from various disciplines has been set up in the Department of Science and Technology. Its advice will be specially sought by the Planning Commission while drawing up our perspective plans of development.

In charting our further course of action, we recognise that it is not enough to emphasise the purely technical aspects of Planning. A review of policies is also simultaneously necessary. There are many Policy areas as in land reforms, Centre state financial relations, our approach to integrated rural works, labour-management relations in industry, balanced regional development, localized health, family plannings and nutrition, where such a review is important and necessary. We cannot, for instance, any longer assume that employment will take care of itself with the growth in the G.N.P. Increasingly the G.N.P. is showing itself as a very unsatisfactory index of progress. Questions as to what goes into the G.N.P., how and where it is produced, and who benefits from it are becoming more and more insistent.

Growth with Social Justice :

Our own approach, summarised in the phrase "Growth with Social Justice", is itself a reflection of this shift in emphasis from measuring progress with reference merely to the growth of the G.N.P. to wider questions relating to opportunities for employment and production given to different classes of people in different religions in the process of growth, and our ability to provide the goods and services required to satisfy the basic minimum needs of the common man before catering to the tastes and demands of the more privileged. Task forces have been set up to study some of these problems in depth and to outline programmes for implementation on pilot basis before adoption on a more general scale. We also intend continuing the dialogue. We have begun with administrators, scientists, industrial managers, labour leaders and political parties for as large a measure of national consensus as possible in arriving at our various programmes of development.

We also wish to avoid the danger of proposing a unique planing model to guide our thinking. For a country as large as India, situated in a rapidly changing social, political and technological environment there are many variables in the situation. It is from this point of view that we attach importance to sketching our alternative paths to growth, within the broad framework of our objectives and strategy. Such an effort will help to identify the choices between different production technologies, resource mobilisation, strategies and organisational frameworks debate at the national level before a final view is taken.

In approaching these tasks, we are ever conscious of the need to draw our inspiration from and adhere steadfastly to our rich national heritage, culturally, socially and politically. While we should be willing to learn from the experience of others and benefit from the knowledge that may come from different sources, it is important that the policies we evolve, particularly as they affect the rural people in regard to housing, health care, education etc. should be firmly rooted in our local traditions if we are [to evoke popular enthusiasm and participation in our planning process. This is the basic lesson to be learnt from all of Gandhiji's teachings. To them I, for once, attach the highest significance, in order that we may develop as a strong self-reliant and prosperous nation proud of our past achievements and confident of its great potential for the future.

PLANNING IN INDIA & REGIONAL IMBALANCES

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DEPUTY SECRETARY,
DEPT. OF PLANNING AND CO-OPERATION, A. P.

The existence of regional inequalities is almost universal. Serious regional inequalities can be observed in developed countries as in the U.S.A., Japan and Italy, in centrally planned economies like Yugoslavakia, U.S.S.R. and Poland and even in transitional and developing countries like Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia and India. The problem however exists in varying severity. The major tasks involved in tackling this problem are:–

a) to assess the extent of regional disparities, implicity identifying the measures for regional disparities;

b) to decide whether intervention is necessary or not; and

c) if intervention is considered appropriate how to intervene most effectively.

2. Some of the major policy issues in regard to reduction of regional disparities would be as follows :–

a) what is the concept of region ?

b) what are the functions or factors in respect of which certain amount of reduction of disparities or equalisation is envisaged ?

c) what is the time dimension over which the different levels of reduction of disparties is to be brought about ?

d) the extent to which the objectives and desires of the different regions can be reconciled with the national goals and objectives and the extent to which reconciliation has to be brought about between the objectives of regional balance and national development.

3. To study the situation in India, it is pertinent to mention the features of the Indian Constitution. India is a Federal Government which consists of Union Government and number of States. There is division of powers between the Union and the States. The concept of social and economic planning is a concurrent subjects covering both the Union and the State activities. The major activities relevant to the people at large such as Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Social Services are in the State list. The major source of finances are with the Union, Constitutionally there are no other accepted units. There are, however, Zonal Councils which are more or less ineffective. There is a mention of village panchayats in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Administratively each State is divided into a number of districts but each district is divided again into a number of taluks or blocks. The lowest unit is village.

4. In the First Plan there is a mention about the need for constant consultation with States in planning. Mention is also made of planning at different levels viz., the State and below. Emphasis has been placed on the need for regional planning primarily with a view to mobilising local participation but there has been no expression of any objectives in terms of regional balanced development.

5. In regard to Second Plan, specific mention is made relating to the question of regional disparities. While it was considered that the pattern of investment must be so devised as to lead to balanced regional development, it was expressed that the problem is particularly difficult in the early stages when the total resources available are very inadequate. However with the object of making every effort towards balanced development in different states three broad instruments were mentioned without detailing the objectives as such. The instruments are considerations for developing of balanced economy while deciding on location of new enterprises, organised schemes of labour migration settlements from less developed area to a more developed area and continuous study of the problem of regional disparities. The greatest contribution of Second Five Year Plan is in terms of its thinking relating to multi- level planning and the delineation of appropriate fnnctions for various levels in the country· No indication, is however, available relating to the objectives and how the balance is relating to the objectives and how expected to be brought about

6. In the Third Five Year Plan balanced regional development was expressed as a specific objective. The plan emphasised that the development of less developed areas was really significant in regard to the State Planning. For instance, it said that it was through the State Plans that improvements in the living conditions of weaker sections of the community and less developed areas would be secured. The Third Plan dealt at length the problem of overall economic development vis-a-vis the balanced development.

7. According to the plan the approach should be to secure the fullest possible utilisation of the resources of each region so that it can contribute its best to the national pool and take its due share from the benefits accruing from national development. The major problem of reconciling the economic utilisation of resources of each region and the equitable distribution of benefit is not tackled. The Third Plan envisaged the preparation of long term plan for the country for 15 years based on resources of various regions.

8. The Fourth Plan unfortunately does not contain any detailed discussion on the problem of balanced regional development. The Fourth Plan took cognizance of the fact that in the past there has been natural tendency for new enterprises and investments to gravitate towards already over crowded metropolitan areas. The plan document describes the problem as highly complex and explains that the difference in levels of development between State and State arises out of variations in activity in three sectors viz., Co-operative, Private and Public. It it again expressed that availability of resources with the Governments of States is crucial. Implicitly the role of Central Government would be rather limited.

9. However, in the mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan, greater emphasis is given to the reduction of regional disparities and a number of measures towards this end are elaborated especially the delineation of backward areas for industrial development, special problem areas etc. For the first time, it is clearly mentioned that the disparities within the State will be the responsibility of the State and that only Inter-State disparities are taken cognizance by the Union Government.

10. In short, there are two important elements of the Indian problem which require specific mention. Firstly, India is aiming

at rapid technological and economic change, and hence the spatial dimension gets irrevocable inter-linked with technical and economic co-efficients. Secondly, because of the existence of Federal Political structure, certain areas of decision making are left to sub-national units and there are also cognizable pressures on the national government for making decisions in a broad direction to suit the specific sub-national areas. In these circumstances, the object of rational planning is not only a technique of translating over geographical space the overall national development objective but also integrating and harmonising the development objectives of the various sub-national units.

11. The effort towards balanced regional development in India so far could be summarised as follows :-

a) Weightage was given for backward states in the allocation of Central Assistance.

b) Backwardness of a State or an area was taken into consideration as one of the factors in the location of Central Sector Projects though on an adhoc basis.

c) Special assistance was made available to backward areas like Nagaland and Eastern U.P. though specific demarcation of all problem areas is yet to be scientifically made.

d) Preference was shown in licencing private industrial establishments in the backward areas, though backward areas have not been clearly defined till recently.

e) Industrial estates in urban or semi-urban areas were established.

f) Measures were taken for relieving the burden on the metropolitan areas as in the case of Bombay, Calcutta etc.

g) More recently, in the course of Fourth Plan, some measures of relevance to Regional problem have been taken up. Central assistance to states takes into account, backwardness of the state and special problems of the State. Special schemes such as Rural Works Programme for Drought Areas, Pilot Project for Tribal Development,

Dry Farming Projects are taken up to cover "Problem areas". Backward districts have been identified for purposes of concessions for industrialisation. Further efforts are being made to identify backward districts and prepare comprehensive plans of development on a priority basis.

12. An attempt may now be made to evaluate the effort towards correcting the regional imbalance. This can be done firstly, in terms of effectiveness of the instruments indicated and secondly in terms of position as it exists today as far as the Inter-State inequalities are concerned.

a) It is said that weightage is given for backward States in the allocation of Central Assistance. It is found that in the Fourth Plan a number of States have been identified as being backward. The average of all States per capita plan outlay in the Fourth Plan is exceeded by Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Tamilnadu (Jammu & Kashmir and Nagaland exist but are treated as special areas) etc. Thus, except Assam all the other 6 States in India which have been specifically considered a backward by the Planning Commission have a per capita plan outlay in the States' sector in the Fourth Plan which is less than the average of all States;

b) Certain central sector projects have been located in backward areas. This was done on an adhoc basis. Their impact on the area is very limited. For instance, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh are some of the States which got important central sector projects and no substantial progress is identified in these States.

c) Though it is said that in terms of industrial licensing backward areas would be favoured, the report of the Industrial Licensing Enquiry Committee clearly indicated the ineffectiveness. Similarly, the efforts towards development of industrial estates and reducing the burden of metropolitan areas has not borne fruit.

d) Further, in regard to the deposits and advances of all the commercial banks it is found that the three advanced states viz., Tamilnadu, West Bengal and Maharashtra

account for 40 to 45 percent of the total deposits in the country while the advances in the three States amounts to 60 to 65 per cent resulting sucking in of resources from other States.

13. It may also be interesting to study the position of various States in regard to important indicators of development. The percentage literacy in 1971 was more than 60 percent in Kerala, while it was less than 20 percent in Bihar and about 22 per cent in U.P. In regard to the per capita income it is found that in 1969–70 the per capita income at current prices was Rs. 945/- for Punjab, Rs. 788/- for Haryana, Rs. 731/- for Maharashtra, Rs. 665/- for Gujarat, Rs. 616/- for Tamilnadu, while for Andhra it was Rs. 513/-, Bihar Rs. 402/-, U.P. Rs. 506/-, Rajasthan Rs. 480/- and Orissa Rs. 375/-. With regard to power consumption the power consumption per capita KWH in the year 1969–70, was 181 in Punjab, 148 in Maharashtra, 127 in Gujarat, 124 in Tamilnadu and 116 in West Bengal. In respect Assam it was 18, U.P. 53, Rajasthan 43, Himachal Pradesh 27 and A. P. 50. It is possible to multiply such instances.

14. A related question might be whether regional disparities have increased in the past. While no positive evidence is available that they have increased, it has to be conceded that there has been ltttle correction of regional imbalances.

15. In the recent past, especially in the context of national approach paper for Fifth Five Year Plan, there is increasing awareness to study problems of multilevel planning, spatial analysis, and set some quantitative Regional Development goals.

NEW INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES STRENGTHEN REGIONAL ECONOMIES

LEO

After two decades of planning it has become necessary to have a proper evaluation of the results derived out of the huge outlays in different sectors of the economy with a view to finding out how fresh planning should take place in the current decade. There can be no denying the fact that the concept of planning has had a catalitic effect on the economy in many directions and the country has grown greatly in stature among the developing nations. Judged in absolute terms the increase in agricultural production, power generating capacity and diversified industrial production, the progress recorded should be considered impressive though the needs of a fast growing population are so large that the increase in per capita availability is not deemed satisfying enough. It has thus been complained that planning has failed to bring about the desired improvement in the standard of living of the common man and that in the earlier stages there was much emphasis on saving and abstinence for the sake of posterity.

Pace of Developmnt :

In the fifties, the pace of economc development was necessarily a slow process as sufficient experience had not been gained and different states laid different emphasis on the development of various sectors. It may be asked in retrospect whether available rupee and foreign exchange resources could have been utilised differently for producing better results. But there will be general agreement with the view that the huge investment in indusrial undertaking in the public sector has not been made fully worthwhile and it has been even asserted in some quarters that there has been a misapplication of scarce resources resulting in a slower rate of economic growth and the creation of huge foreign debt liabilities which are imposing considerable strain on the balance of paymen's position.

However, the fact remains that big industrial complexes have sprung up in different parts of the country which can make a sizable contribution to the improved availability of steel, industrial machinery, petro-chemicals, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals and various other items of only their operating efficiency could be significantly improved. The steel belt in the North-eastern region has by itself been responsible for the development of rail transport facilities on an unprecedented scale and for the exploitation of rich iron and manganese ore deposits numerous engineering units have sprung up in the public and private sectors. The growth of the oil refining and fertilizer industries too has been helpful in promoting new complexes. Those in Koyali in Gujarat and Manali in Madras are registering spectacular progress. Other complexes at Cochin in Kerala, Haldia in West Bengal, Nunmati in Assam and Barauni in Bihar are also fast taking shape. In the private sectar too petrochemical complexes producing diverse items have come up under different auspices in the Trombay area of Maharashtra.

Emergence of industrial complexes in various parts of the country in the private sector too has been highly beneficial to the economy as a large number of units are engaged in diverso-activities. Some of these growth points are the Alwaye-Cochin area in Kerala, the Mettur-Coimbatore belt in Tamil Nadu, the Bangalore and Belagaum region in Mysore State, the Vishakhapatnam region in Andhra Pradesh, the Poona-Nasik areas in Maharashtra, the Faridabad-Ghaziabad complex in the Delhi metropolitan area, Kotah in Rajahsthan, Nagda in Madhya Pradesh, Goa and so on. It will be clear, therefore, that new centres of activity have been springing up.

Chain Reation :

The activities of these complexes by themselves are creating a chain reaction which can have far-reaching side effects. It may be said that the heavy investment in the public sector particularly could have been on different lines and that with a rearrangement of priorities, the value and content of industrial production can be much higher and different from what they are now.

The 'Mistakes' in this regard were perhaps inevitable and cannot also be undone at this stage. What is needed now is a serious attempt to get the best out of the investment already effected and increased production substantially. This will be helpful in mitigating to some extent the hardship that would be felt on account of diminished foreign aid.

It is happy to note that there is now recognition that the public sector undertakings are not achieving the level of production which is desirable for hastening the tempo of implementation of plan schemes and preventing avoidable imports. There can be a big improvement in the output of steel, fertilizers, heavy electrical equipment, machine tools and many other badly needed items. The bigger units in the private sector too have not found it possible to maintain the output at high levels because of shortages of raw-materials, power, transport bottlenecks or other factors. The deficiencies of public sector units are proposed to be overcome by bestowing greater attention to the maintenance of plant and machinery. There has also been recently talk of restructuring the giant undertaking through the formation of holding companies and subsidiaries for the major groups, with a view to having a clearer idea of the activities of the bigger enterprises and finding out what exactly are the weak spots. It is not as if these weakness cannot be easily detected while the factors responsible for poor financial results and operating inefficiency of many units are generally known. There will, however, be tangible advantage in granting greater autonomy to individual steel, fertilizer, heavy electrical equipment, engineering, machine tool and other units as the onerous responsibilities of those in charge of big groups of undertakings are difficult to be discharged. All the same, mere organisational changes cannot bring about a miracle and the big increase in production and productivity cannot be achieved without proper technical and administrative supervision and cordial labour-management relations. But a vast industrial base has been created and there can be a significant increase in the rate of industrial production if the activities of public and private sectors could be co-ordinated and the best use was made of the existing facilities.

Pragmatic Planning in Some States :

There are also bright spots in many states where planning has proceeded on pragmatic lines. Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana have progressed steadily and the heavy expenditure on power generation, rural electrification, energisation of pump-sets and the promotion of big and small industries has led to a faster growth of emloyment and better and quicker returns on investment. Tamil Nadu and Punjab perhaps provide good examples of how the agricultural economy can be strengthened with the use of new techniques and how there can also be dispersed industrial development. Maharashtra has, of course, been a pioneer in many directions but in most other states progress has been uneven and big industrial complexes have not by themselves led to a general toning up of the regional economies concerned.

It is significant that there is difference in approach to plan problems at the state level and different results have been obtained with the same or larger doses of investment. Tamil Nadu has nearly the same installed capacity for electricity as that of its three neighbouring states of Mysore, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh put together. The quantum of electricity consumed in Tamil Nadu is almost the same as in Maharashtra but the latter's pattern of consumption is not the same because it is more industrially developed. In Tamil Nadu, the agricultural load forms a sizable proportion of total energy sales, Domestic consumption also is fairly high. Andhra Pradesh, for its part, has laid greater emphasis on the creation of irrigation facilities and only in the later stages it is paying attention to the implementation of power projects and rural electrification schemes. Madhya Pradesh has a surplus of power in spite of a fairly low level of installed capacity. Gujarat, Haryana and Punjab, however, are power hungry and the surplus of M.P. is being gobbled up. Again, even though underground water resources are in plenty in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh it is only latterly the importance of creating lift irrigation facilities is being realised.

It can thus be said that there is now greater awareness of what can and should be done. With the anxiety to implement Plan

schemes more vigorously and purposefully there will obviously be a desire to pursue different courses besides adopting some measures of States which have achieved more impressive progress. In the coming years there will necessarily have to be more integrated development. The complexes already in existence, besides bringing about a better co-ordination of the activities of the States on a regional basis should also be helpful in eliminating glaring unevenness in industrial and agricultural development as between different regions subject to the limitations imposed by the availability of natural resources in the areas concerned.

The individual human being or race or nation must necessarily have a certain depth and certain roots somewhere. They do not count for much unless they have roots in the past, which past is after all the accumulation of generations of experience and some type of wisdom. It is essential that you have that. Otherwise, you became just pale copies of some thing which has no real meaning to you as an individual or as a group.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

THE FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR

PROF. J. SATYANARAYAN

HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The need for a study of this type needs no emphasis in view of the fact that the public sector is assuming an increasing role in the national economy.

The total investment in the public sector has been increasing from Plan to Plan as can be seen from Table 1. The investment in public sector has increased nine times between the First Five Year Plan and the Fourth Five Year Plan. In the First Five Year Plan the total investment in public sector was Rs. 1,560 crores and the proposed investment in the Fourth Five Year Plan is Rs.13,665 crores. On the other hand, the investment in the private sector would be about five times in the Fourth Five Year Plan, when compared with what it was in the First Five Year Plan.

The investment in the public sector has increased not only in absolute terms but also in relative terms. The investment in the public sector in the First Five Year Plan formed 46.4 per cent of the total, whereas it has increased to more than 50 per cent in the Second Five Year Plan and to a little more than 60 per cent in the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans.

The investment figures given above pertain to the entire economic activity, i.e., agriculture, irrigation, power, industry, minerals, transport, education, health, housing etc. and not confined to industry and trade alone. These investments are not confined to the central sector. They also cover centrally sponsored projects and investments in States and Union Territories.

The study is confined to the central public sector enterprises in the field of industry and commerce. It excludes the departmental undertakings in the central public sector. Hence, it would be of relevance to study the investments and the rate of growth of investments in these central public enterprises.

Table 1

Investments in Public and Private Sectors during the Five Year Plans

(Rs. in crores)

	I Five Year Plan		II Five Year Plan		III Five Year Plan		IV Five Year Plan	
		%		%		%		%
Private Sector	1,800.0	53.6	3,100.0	46.0	4,100.0	39.4	8,980.0	39.7
Public Sector	1,560.0	46.4	3,650.0	54.0	6,300.0	60.0	13,655.0	60.3
	3,360.0	100.0	6,750.0	100.0	10,400.0	100.0	22,635.0	100.0

Source of data : 1) Third Five Year Plan; p: 32

2) Fourth Five Year Plan, p. 52

Table 2

Investment in Central Public Undertakings

(Rs. in crores)

	No. of Under-takings	Total Invest-ment	Investments in Running Concerns	4 As % of 3	Investments in Losing Concerns	6 As % of 3	6 As % of 4
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
At the commenccment of the First Five Year Plan	5	29.0	—	—	—	—	—
At the commencement of the Second Five Year Plen	21	81.0	—	—	—	—	—
At the commencement of the Third Five Year Plan	48	953.0	819.25	85.9	659.24	69.1	80.5
As on 31–3–1966	74	2,415.0	1,860.26	77.0	1,356.85	56.2	73.0
As on 31–3–1967	77	2,841.0	2,455.96	86.4	1,843.07	64.9	75.0
As on 31–3–1968	83	3,333.0	3,093.30	92.8	2,092.20	62.8	67.6
As on 31–3–1969	85	3,902.0	3,534.00	90.6	2,206.00	56.5	62.4

Source of data : Annual Report on the Working of Industrial and Ccmmercial Undertakings of the Central Government, Bureau of Public Enterprises, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

Table 2 shows that the investments in these central sector enterprises increased substantially during the Third Five Year Plan period and during the three Annual Plans. The total investment as cn 31–3–1969 was Rs. 3,902 crores: Most of these investments came to fruition as the investments in the running concerns[1] ranged from 77 per cent on 13–3–1966 to 90.6 per cent (of the total investments in public sector, under study) on 13–3–1969. Even though most of these undertakings became running concerns they were not making profits. The percentage of investments in losing concerns to the investments in running concerns were substantial varying between 80:5 (1961–62) and 62.4 (1968–69).

As the public sector has been growing both in absolute as well as in relative terms, the performance of the entire industrial sector in the nation's economy would greatly depend upon the performance of the public sector enterprises. In addition, most of the public sector undertakings produce such goods, the production of which would affect the production of the industries in the private sector and ultimately that of the entire economy This is so because many of the public sector enterprises and most of the investment in those enterprises were meant for producing basic goods like steel, heavy engineering, heavy electricals, machine tools etc. which would influence the production of other commodities. The performance of the public sector enterprises, therefore, assumes great importance. Hence, the need for a study of this type arises.

Scope of the study :

The study is confined to the central "running" public enterprises The undertakings "under construction" are excluded from the study, as it would not be appropriate to judge the results of the enterprises which are not yet commissioned. Also excluded from the study are the "financial institutions" and "promotional and developmental undertakings". In positive terms the study covers the running industrial and commercial enterprises. This classification is based upon the one adopted by the Bureau of

1 Although for the sake of conformity with the 'Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of the Central Government" published by Bureau of Public Enterprises, the word "concerns" has been employed, a more appropriate word would be "undertakings".

Public Enterprises in its publication "Annual Report on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of the Central Government" on which the study greatly relies for its empirical data. The number of running enterprises varies from year to year depending upon the number of enterprises commissioned. For example, there were 85 public sector enterprises as on 31–3–1969. As against this, there were 61 running concerns in that year, 40 in 1965–66 and only 25 in 1960–61.

The study generally covers all the running undertakings; but in some cases it is cofined to losing undertakings only as the main focus of the study is on the performance of those enterprises which have accmulated deficits. The number of enterprises which have had net accumulated deficits was 26 as on 31–3–1969.

Period of study

The study broadly covers the period 1960–61 to 1968–69. The reasons for selecting this period are as follows :

1. The publications of the Bureau of Public Enterprises have started in 1960–61 and the latest year for which the report is available is for 1968–69.
2. It starts with the end of Second Five Year Plan period and covers the Third Five Year Plan and the Three Annual Plans during whlch many new enterprises have either been commissioned or come into the category of "Running Concerns". For example, as mentioned earlier, there were only 25 running concerns in 1960–61 and 61 in 1968–69.

Plan targets and realisations

For the first time since the planning started in the country, the Planning Commission provided for surpluses from public enterprises, as one of the sources of financing the plans, in the Third Five Year Plan period. The Third Five Year Plan targeted a surplus of Rs. 300[1] crores from the central public enterprises,

1. This item represents the balance of resources available with public enterprises after providing for the working expenses, normal replacements, interest and dividend. In other words, it does not represent merely net profits – it also includes net accretion to depreciation reserve funds and other funds of these enterprises the assumption being that these funds will be utilised for financing the expansion programmes of these enterprises. (Third Five Year Plan p. 97)

Table 3

Plant Targets and Realisation of Surpluses in Central Public Undertakings

PLAN PERIOD	* Equity capital invested	Surpluses anticipated	Rate of return anticipated	Surpluses realised	Rate of return achieved
	(Rs. in Crores)	(Rs. in Crores)	%	(Rs. in Crores)	%
Third Five Year Plan					
1961–62	641				
1962–63	846				
1963–64	1,032				
1964–65	1,213				
1965–66	1,368				
	5,100	300	6.0	269	5.3
Annual Plans					
1966–67	1,478				
1967–68	1,633				
1968–69	1,824				
	4,935	445	9.0	327	6.6

Source of data ; i) Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of the Central Government
ii) Third Five Year Plan
iii) Fourth Five Year Plan

* Investment in Central Government Undertakings other than the Departmental Projects

other than the Railways; and the three Annual Plans of 1966–69 provided for a surplus of Rs. 445 crores. The Fourth Five Year Plan, its estimate of resources for the Fourth Plan, provides for a surplus of Rs. 785 crores[2] from the Central Public Enterprises, excluding Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, Indian Dairy Corporation, Agricultural Refinance Corporation, Rural Electrification Corporation, Damodar Vally Corporation and Central Power Generation. The expectations have not been realised which is evident from Table 3.

The surplus of Rs. 300 crores expected during the Third Five Year Plan works out to a return of 6 per cent on the total equity capital of the central public enterprises. The achievement fell short, by 16.3 per cent, with a realised amount of Rs. 269 crores.

The actual surplus realised during the three Annual Plans 1966–69 fell short by more than one–fourth. This comes to a return of 6.6 per cent as against the expected return of 9 per cent.

These realised surpluses are arrived at before providing for depreciation. As depreciation is a cost item, the depreciation must be deducted from the realised surpluses so as to arrive at the real surplus position.

Table 4 shows the depreciation provided by the running public enterprises during the Third Five Year Plan period and the three Annual Plans. The depreciation in the Third Plan period comes to a total of Rs. 271.60 crores as against the "realised surplus" of Rs. 269 crores. This implies that the public enterprises have actually incurred loss on the whole instead of generating surpluses if the depreciation provision is adjusted against the realised surpluses. The same is the position as regards the real surplus position during the three Annual Plans. The depreciation was Rs. 352.83 crores against the realised surplus of Rs. 327 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 25.83 crores on the whole.

Table 5 gives an idea of the relative position of deficits, reserves, net deficits/reserves and depreciation. It is very clear from the table that the net reserve position was negative in all the years of the Third Five Year Plan and the three Annual Plans. However, if the depreciation provision is to be considered as surplus, as was done by the Planning Commission, the surplus position would be radically different. It ranges from 11.0 to 16.8 per cent of the total resources of the enterprises.

2· Fourth Five Year Plan, p. 76.

Table 4

Depreciation of Running Concerns

(Rs. in Lakhs)

Plan period		Depreciation provision	No. of Enterprises
Third Plan Period			
1961–62	...	4,087.7	28
1962–63	...	4,672.4	28
1963–64	...	5,076.3	30
1964–65	...	5,949.4	34
1965–66	...	7,374.2	40
Total for the Third Five Year Plan Period		27,160.0	
Annual Plans			
1966–67	...	9,353.9	45
1967–68	...	11,959.6	55
1968–69	...	13,969.4	61
Total for the Three Annual Plans	...	35,282.9	

Source of data : Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of the Central Government

Table 5

Equity Capital, Loan and Internal Resources of Running Concerns : 1960-61 to 1968-69

(Rs. in lakhs)

	1960–61		1961–62		1962–63	
		%		%		%
1. Equity Capital	46,370.4	50.0	49,052.4	46.3	56,210.7	47.4
2. Loan	37,708.1	40.7	45,190.9	42.7	47,296.2	39.9
3. Internal Resources						
a) Reserves	2,477.3 (2.7%)		3,177.0 (3.0%)		4,346.0 (3.6%)	
b) Less Deficit	289.3 (–0.3%)		4,067.9 (–3.8%)		6,196.5 (–5.2%)	
c) Net Reserves	2,158.0 (2.4%)		(–) 890.9 (–0.8%)		(–) 1,050.5 (–1.6%)	
d) Depreciation	6,478.7 (6.9%)		12,492.3 (11.8%)		16,985.2 (14.3%)	
3. Total Internal Resources (c+d or d–c)	8,666.7	9.3	11,601.4	11.0	15,134.7	12.7
Grand Total (1+2+3)	92,745.2	100.0	1,05,844.7	100.0	1,18,641.6	100.0
No. of Running Concerns	25		28		28	

—*Contd.*

Table 5—*Contd.*

	1963–64		1964–65		1965–66	
		%		%		%
1. Equity Capital	66,874.8	47.8	83,829.8	48.9	1,00,689.7	45.3
2. Loan	51,502.9	36.9	58,739.7	34.3	85,938.0	38.7
3. Internal Resources						
a) Reserves	5,745.5 (4.1%)		7,721.7 (4.5%)		8,485.6 (3.8%)	
b) Less Deficit	6,925.0 (–4.9%)		8,095.8 (–4.7%)		9,636.6 (–4.3%)	
c) Net Reserves	(–) 1,179.5 (–0.8%)		(–) 374.1 (–0.2%)		(–) 1,151.0 (–0.5%)	
d) Depreciation	22,558.8 (16.1%)		29,101.3 (17.0%)		36,661.1 (16,5%)	
3. Total Internal Resources (c+d or d–c)	21,379.3	15.3	28,727.2	16.8	35,510.1	16.0
Grand Total	1,39,757.0	100.00	1,71,296.7	100.0	2,22,137.8	100.0
No. of Running Concerns	30		34		40	

Contd.

Table 5—*Contd.*

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	
		%		%		%
1. Equity Capital	1,23,706.0	42.2	1,46,540.2	41.4	1,54,003.0	37,8
2: Loan	1,27,126.0	43.4	1,54,164.4	43.6	1,18,600.6	46.3
3. Internal Resources						
a) Reserves	10,816.5 (3.7%)		16,316.9 (4.6%)		21,933.5 (5.4%)	
b) Less Deficit	16,217.0 (–5.5%)		26,010.2 (–7.3%)		34,969.4 (–8.6%)	
c) Net Reserves	(–) 5,400.5 (–1.8%)		(–) 9,693.3 (–2.7%)		(–) 13,035.9 (-3.2%)	
d) Depreciation	47,511.4 (16.2%)		62,889.3 (17 7%)		77,714.6 (19.1%)	
3. Total Internal Resources (c+d or d–c)	42,110.9	14.4	53,196.0	15.0	64,678.7	15.9
Grand Total (1+2+3)	2,92'942.9	100.0	3,53,900.6	100.0	4,07,282.3	100.0
No. of Running Concerns	45		55		61	

Source of data: Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of the Central Government.

Otherwise, the enterprises have been running on losses in the aggregate. The total depreciation provision increased from Rs. 64.79 crores in 1960–61 to Rs. 777.15 crores in 1968–69, as against the deterioration in the net reserve position from net accumulated reserve of Rs. 21.88 crores in 1960–61 and net accumulated deficit of Rs. 130.36 crores in 1968–69.

Accumulated Deficits

As was mentioned earlier there were 26 enterprises at the end of the year 1968-69 which have net accumulated deficits. The total net accumulated deficits of these 26 enterpises amounted to Rs.339.42 crores as on 31-3-1969 (Table 6).

Let us next have an idea of the accumulated deficits in relation to the equity capital.

In can be seen from Table 7 that there were a few enterprises which had accumulated deficits exceeding the equity capital, which implies that the entire equity capital was lost because of the continuous losses incurred by the enterprises. About a third of the enterprises had accumulated deficits of more than 50 per cent of the equity capital. Enterprises which had accumulated deficits of more than 20 per cent of the equity accounted for about two-thirds of the total number of enterprises which had accumulated deficits.

[*Table 6*]

Table 6

Net Accumulated Deficits of Running Concerns as on 31-3-1969

No.	Name of the Undertaking	Net Accumulated Deficits (Rs. in lakhs)
1.	Hindustan Steel Ltd.	... 16,235.5
2.	Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd.	... 4,376.4
3.	Heavy Engineering Corporation	... 4,072.8
4.	Mining & Allied Machinery Corporation	... 2,015.7
5.	Neyveli Lignite Corporation	... 1,974.9
6.	Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd.	... 10,45.5
7.	Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd.	... 1,245.5
8.	National Mineral Development Corporation	... 628.1
9.	Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Company Ltd.	... 420.5
10.	National Coal Development Corporation	... 369.3
11.	Central Inland Water Transport Corporation	... 248.7
12.	National Building Construction Corporation	... 179.3
13.	National Instruments	... 93.9
14.	Uranium Corporation of India Ltd.	... 71.0
15.	Instrumentation Ltd.	... 67.5
16.	Electronics Corporation of India Ltd.	... 60.5
17.	Central Road Transport Corporation	... 53.7
18.	Praga Tools Ltd.	... 50.3
19.	Hindustan Zinc Ltd.	... 32.3
20.	Central Fisheries Ltd.	... 30.9
21.	Triveni Structurals	... 19.0
22.	Janapath Hotels	... 16.1
23.	Pyrites, Phosphates and Chemicals	... 13.6
24.	National Projects Construction Corporation	... 10.6
25.	Modern Bankeries (India) Ltd.	... 9.8
26.	Hindustan Salts Ltd	... 0.3
	Total :	33,941.6

Source of data : Annual Reports of Industrial Undertakings.

Table 7

Accumulated Deficits as % of Equity Capital as on 31-3-1969

Accumulated Deficits as % of Equity Capital	No. of Under-takings	Name of the Undertakings *	Net Accumulated Deficits (Rs. in lakhs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Above 100	3	C.I..W.T.C., N.B.C.C., M.A.M.C.	2,433.7
75 – 100	1	H.E. (I) L.	4.376.4
50 – 75	5	H.P.F., C.R.T.C., J.H., C.F., I.D.P.L.	1,766.7
30 – 50	1	H.E.C	4,072.8
20 – 30	7	N.I., H.S.L., B.H.E.L., N.M.D.C., N.L.C., E.C.I.L., P.T.	20,688.6
10 – 20	1	I.L.	67.5
5 – 10	3	M.B., U.C., T.S.L.	99.8
Below 5	5	N.P.C.C., H.Z., N.C.D.C., P.P.C., H.SALT.	426.1
	26		33,941.6

* Key to the abbreviations given in annexure.

Contd.

Table 7—*Contd.*

(4) as % of Total of (4)	Equity Capital (Rs. in lakhs)	(6) as % of Total (Rs. in lakhs)	(4) as % of (6)
(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
7.2	2,185.5	2.1	118.8
12.9	5,000.0	4.7	87.5
5.2	3,008.5	2.8	58.7
12.0	10,000.0	9.4	40.7
61.0	73,554.5	69.3	28.1
0.2	389.5	0.4	17.3
0.3	1,145.0	1.1	8.7
1.2	10,847.4	10.2	3.9
100.0	1,06,130.4	100.0	31.98

Source of data : 1) Annual Reports of the Individual Enterprises.

2) Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of Central Government.

If we look at the actual volume of the accumulated deficits we find that the maximum amount of accumulated deficits - 61 per cent - took place in the range of 20-30 per cent (accumulated deficit as percentage of equity capital). In fact the enterprises in this category were having the highest amount of equity capital - 69.3 per cent. In other words, eventhough the number of enterprises in the category of 20-30 per cent net accumulated deficits, was only 7 out of 26, the net accumulated deficits and equity capital were highly concentrated here. The one enterprise that has contributed largely to this net accumulated deficit as well as equity capital in this size class was Hindustan Steel Ltd. It contributed about 80 per cent of the accumulated deficits and 75 per cent of the equity capital. In fact, this enterprise alone was responsible for about half of the accumulated deficits of all the 26 losing concerns. Of course, its share of accumulated deficits is a little less than proportionate to its share of equity capital. Next to the Hindustan Steel Ltd., the Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd., and the Heavy Engineering Corporation have accumulated considerable amount of deficits. These enterprises also contribute large amounts to the total equity capital, next only to the Hindustan Steel Ltd. These three enterprises put together account for about 86 per cent of the total accumulated deficits of all the enterprises put together. On an average the losing enterprises have accumulated deficits to the extent of about one-third of their equity capital.

The accumulated deficits have been increasing gradually from year to year, along with an increase in the number of concerns incurring losses (Table 8.) The total accumulated deficits increased from Rs. 1.84 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 339.42 crores in 1968-69. Accumulated deficits as percentage of equity capital showed a decline in the years 1963-64 to 1965-66. In 1963-64 the losses of Hindustan Steel Limited declined considerably; and during the next two years it made profits. The impact of performance of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. on the performance of the public sector as a whole is perceptible, in the sense that when it made profits it altered the trend of accumulated deficits. The percentage of undertakings accumulating deficits out of the total number of running concerns each year increased from 28 in 1960-61 to 42.6 in 1968-69.

Table 8

Accumulated Deficits of Central Government Running Concerns: 1960–61 to 1968–69

YEARS	No. of Losing Concerns	Total Running Concerns	(2) as % of (3)	Equity Capital (Rs. in lakhs)	Accumulated Deficits (Rs. in lakhs)
1960–61	7	25	28	32,908.7	184.2
1961–62	7	28	25	34,362,2	4,011.9
1962–63	7	28	25	40,863.9	6,190.2
1963–64	7	30	23.3	49,801.4	6,920.8
1964–65	9	34	26.5	58,866.8	7,840.3
1965–66	12	40	30.0	73,956.2	9,132.5
1966–67	16	45	35.6	95,045.6	15,221.1
1967–68	22	55	40.0	1,02,394.6	25,013.6
1968–69	26	61	42.6	1,06,130.4	33,941.6

—*Contd.*

Table 8 Contd.

YEARS	(6) as % of (5)	Accumulated Free Reserves (Rs. in lakhs)	(8) as % of (5)	Net Deficit/ Surplus (Rs. in lakhs)	(10) as % of (5)
1960–61	0.56	183.3	0.56	(–) .9	(–) 0.0
1961–62	11.68	145.5	0.42	(–) 3,866.4	(–) 11.26
1962–63	15.15	268.1	0.66	(–) 5,922.1	(–) 14.49
1963–64	13.90	329.6	0.66	(–) 6,591.2	13.24
1964–65	13.32	190.7	0.32	(–) 7,649.6	(–) 13.00
1965–66	12.35	227.4	0.31	(–) 8,905.1	(–) 12.04
1966–67	16.01	169.5	0.18	(–) 15,051.6	(–) 15.83
1967–68	24.43	110.1	0.11	(–) 24,903.5	(–) 24.32
1968–69	31.98	—	—	(–) 33,941.6	(–) 31.98

Source of data : 1) Annual Reports of the Individual Enterprises

2) Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of Central Government

Table 9

Net Accretions to Accumulated Deficits : 1960-61 to 1968-69

YEARS		Equity Capital in losing concerns (Rs. in lakhs)	Increase of Equity Capital in losing concerns over the previous year (Rs. in lakhs)	Net Accumulated Deficits in losing concerns (Rs. in lakhs)
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)
1960-61	Base Year	32,908.7	—	(–) .9
1961-62		34,362.2	1,453.5	(–) 3,866.4
1962-63		40,863.9	6,501.7	(–) 5,922.1
1963-64		49,801.4	8,937.5	(–) 6,591.2
1964-65		58,866.8	9,065.4	(–) 7,649.6
1965-66		73,956.2	15,089.4	(–) 8,905.1
1966-67		95,045.6	21,089.4	(–) 15,051.6
1967-68		1,02,394.6	7,349.0	(–) 24,903.5
1968-69		1,06,130.4	3,735.8	(–) 33,941.6
1960-61	Base Year	32,908.7	—	.9
1965-66		73,956.2	41,047.5	(–) 8,905.1
1960-61	Base Year	32,908.7	—	.9
1968-69		1,06,130.4	73,221.7	(–) 33,941.6

—*Contd.*

Table 9 Contd.

YEARS		Increase/Decrease in Net Accumulated Deficits in Losing Concerns over the previous year (Rs. in lakhs)	% of additional Equity Capital lost during the year (5) as % (3)
		(5)	(6)
1960–61	Base Year	—	—
1961–62		3,865.5	265.9
1962–63		2,055.7	31.6
1963–64		669.1	7.5
1964–65		1,058.4	11.7
1965–66		1,255.5	8.3
1966–67		6,146.5	29.1
1967–68		9,851.9	134.1
1968–69		9,038.1	241.9
1960–61	Base Year	—	—
1965–66		8,904.2	21.7
1960–61	Base Year	—	—
1968–69		33,940.7	46.4

Source of data : 1) Annual Reports of the Individual Enterprises.

2) Annual Reports on the Working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of Central Government.

The accumulated free reserves of these enterprises as percentage of equity capital were insignificant and were actually showing a decline from year to year, particularly from 1964-65 onwards; and the net accumulated deficits (accumulated deficits minus accumulated free reserves) also showed considerable increase over the period. In fact the trend of increase in the net accumulated deficits is more pronounced than the trend of accumulated deficits. This is because on the one hand the accumulated deficits were increasing and on the other, the accumulated free reserves were declining.

Table 9 shows the position of accretion to net accumulated deficits in relation to accretions to the equity capital, from year to year, for the period. Column 6 of the table gives the accretions to the net accumulated deficits as percentage of accretions to equity capital. This gives us an idea of the extent of additional losses accumulated in each year on the additional equity capital invested in those years. The deficits on the additional equity capital invested declined from 1961-62 to 1965-66 considerably. However, these have increased much more during the years 1966-67 — 1968-69. This phenomenon of increase in the accumulated deficits could be superficially and partially explained by a number of new undertakings being commissioned and so considered as running concerns, eventhough they may be suffering from a number of teething troubles in the early stages of their operations. It needs separate study to probe into the other and perhaps more important reasons for the increasing accumulated deficits, which is not the puspose of this paper.

This form, a part of the report on "Operational Economies of public Enterprises–Accumulated deficits of certain Public Enterprises" was submitted to the I.C.S.S.R.

GREEN REVOLUTION IN INDIA

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What is Green Revolution :

In 1970 the Nobel Peace Prize went for the first time not to a Statesmen or Public figure but to an Agricultural Scientist conducting research in rural Mexico. A native of Iowa in the U.S., Mid West, Dr. Norman E. Borlaug has been working in Mexico since 1944 to improve that country's Wheat crop. The high yield wheat varieties that he developed have converted Mexico's wheat shortage into an exportable surplus, have brought from chronic deficit to self-sufficiency to Pakistan and India. To-day more than 25 million acres are planted to this hardy, disease resistant grain in Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa, feeding an estimated 500 million people. This remarkable transformation of wheat farming—along with parallel advances elsewhere in rice has been labelled the "Green Revolution".

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of India. 80 per cent of the population of India live in Villages and nearly 90 per cent of the village population depend on agriculture directly or indirectly. Agriculture accounts for nearly 50 per cent of our gross National Income. Therefore, the Green Revolution in India has a special significance.

Early Days of Farming :

Agriculture has been the way of life in this country. It has become a tradition handed—over from father to son from generation to generation. The varieties of crops which have been under cultivation for centuries have adopted themselves to the soil and climatic conditions. The crop yields depended mainly on soil fertility and the only source of enriching the soil fertility was through the application of farm yard manure and through crop rotations. Farm yard manure was very much in short supply and

a large portion of the crop land received little or no manure at all. Under these conditions of farming a sort of balance has developed between the soil, plant and the environment. Through centuries of natural selection, crop varieties have developed which had limited yield potential but were well adopted to local conditions and would come up under low fertility levels of soils and were resistant to pests and diseases. This was the stage of farming when the improved farming methods were introduced in this country by about the beginning of the twentieth century.

Era of Scientific Farming :

The first attempt of improvement through scientific agriculture was to introduce improved varieties with better yield than the locals under similar conditions of farming. Side by side with the evolution of improved varieties, new farming techniques were also adopted such as deep ploughing by the introduction of improved agricultural implements for better tilth of the soil, application of artificial fertilizers to improve the soil fertility and the adoption of plant protection measures to save crops from pests and diseases. Agricultural research institutes were started in each of the States in India supported by a number of research stations spread over the entire State. As a result of intensive scientific research, a number of new crop varieties were developed which have proved superior and higher yielding than the locals. New agronomic practices were also recommended for obtaining higher yields.

In crop yield competition these new varieties have yielded nearly 4 to 6 times the average yield of the crop as seen below:

		Average yield per hectare. Kgs.	Highest recorded yield per hectare Kgs.
1.	Paddy (Rice)	1,250	7,500
2.	Jowar	460	1,800
3.	Groundnut	710	2,120
4.	Sugarcane (Sugar)	8,160	37,500

It has been possible to obtain such high yields because of the adoption of scientific farming by using fertilizers, plant protection measures and optimum irrigation. But these varieties have

a limitation. They gave remarkably high yields only under favourable climatic conditions. They respond to the application of fertilizers only upto a point. With increased use of fertilizers tend to grow tall and lodge. Very often they put on more vegetative growth and less grain. They also become susceptible to pests and diseases. Therefore, it has not been possible for the farmers to obtain consistently higher yields with these varieties.

The New Technology:

Soon Agricultural Scientists realised that variety is the limiting factor and unless they evolve a variety which is fertilizer responsive, non lodging e.g., dwarf varieties with stiff straw and resistant to pests and diseases, it will not be possible to increase the per acre yield of crops to any great extent. With this in view new orientation was given to agricultural research in the early 60s of this century. A number of dwarf varieties of wheat and rice were imported from Mexico and Taiwan respectively. The improved wheat varieties that were imported are those developed by the famous Noble peace Prize Winner Norman Borlaug. These wheat varieties had revolutionised farming in Mexico where the wheat yields had trebled. These were tested at various locations in India and were found to be quite suitable to our climatic conditions. These varieties are dwarf, fertilizer responsive and have yield potential from 5 to 7 tons per hectare. These varieties proved successful for yields but the grain quality was inferior to the local varieties, in that the grains were soft and whitish. Using the Mexican dwarf varieties as parents, crosses were made with good quality Indian types and soon the Scientists produced high yielding dwarf wheats like the Mexican types having amber coloured good quality grain of the Indian varieties. Of the wheat varieties, Sonalika (R.R. 21) and Kalyan Sona (S 227) have proved most successful. These wheat varieties spread very rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the county. They have completely replaced the old varieties that were cultivated in Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and other Wheat States. These varieties are also found to be suitable for growing in the Southern States like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Tamil Nadu in the winter season. By the introduction of these wheat varieties the average per acre yield in the traditional wheat belt of Northern India has been doubled.

There has been a breakthrough in wheat production and the green revolution in wheat has been achieved.

In rice among the earliest dwarf varieties that were introduced are T.N. 1 from Taiwan and I.R. 8 from Phillipines. I.R. 8 has been known as the miracle rice because it rapidly spread and occupied the entire rice area in Phillipines. It has an yield potential of nearly 7 to 8 tons per hectare. In this country I.R 8 has given phenomenally high yields in some areas but its performance has not been uniform throughout. The grain is coarse and is not accepted for local consumption and fetches a low price. The variety is also susceptible to a number of diseases. Therefore, this variety has not proved very popular in many of the rice growing areas of the country. A breeding programme was launched throughout the country to evolve varieties possessing the high yielding and dwarf character of I.R. 8 and T. N. 1 and also the fine grain quality and disease resistance of local varieties. Using these dwarf varieties as parents the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University has been able to evolve two dwarf varieties of rice, which are high yielding, fertilizer responsive and tolerant to pests and diseases. These are fine grained and suitable for growing both in Kharif and Rabi seasons. They have an yield potential of 5 to 7 tons per hectare. These varieties have become popular particularly in the Telangana area. Besides a number of other high yielding varieties are also recommended for cultivation in the State like Jaya, Padma, I.R. 8, I.R. 22, Cauvery etc.

Rice being mainly a Kharif crop is subject to vagaries of monsoon. The pests and diseases problem is also much in the Kharif season. Therefore, it is a challenging task for the Rice Breeders to evolve high yielding and pest and disease resistant varieties suited to various agroclimatic conditions and seasons. A large number of varieties are said to be the pipe line and soon it is hoped that suitable varieties will be available to the rice growers to usherin the green revolution in rice and breakthrough in rice production.

High yielding varieties have also been introduced in other food crops like Jowar, Maize and Bajra. These are mainly hybrids and their high yield potential is due to the hybrid vigour they possess. Suitable parents with good combining ability are selected

and the first generation hybrids are produced. These hybrids are more vigorous than the parents and have very high yield potential Following are some of the hybrids which are under cultivation in our State.

Sorghum : C.S.H.I, C.S.H.II and C.S.H.III.
Bajra : H.B.I, H.B.II, H.B. III and H.B.IV.
Maize : Deccan hybrid Makka, Gange–3 and Gange–5.

Outlook for Future :

Outlook for future is bright. The Green Revolution in wheat has been accomplished. In rice, it is round the corner. In other crops, as well, it is expected revolutionary changes will be ushered in soon. From a chronically deficit country in food grains and other agricultural commodities, India is emerging as a major exporting country. In this silent and peaceful revolution, the Indian Farmer has played an important part. He has given support to the Agricultural Scientist and has willingly adopted himself to the changed circumstances, willing to experiment at his own risk, He deserves all praise in addition to our Agricultural Scientists who are primarily responsible for the green revolution by producing high yielding varieties of crops.

In socialism, all the members of society are equal-none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the sales of the feet low because they touch the earth, Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of the society. This is socialism.

—Mahatma Gandhi

INDIAN ECONOMY TODAY

PROF. P. K. M. RAJA

India emerged with a new image from the 14-day Indo-Pakistan War that ended with the liberation of Bangla Desh. The mould in which this new image is cast should reflect not only the political maturity and stability attained by the country, but in some real measure, the economic viability, on which the stability is based. Amidst the stresses and strains imposed by the influx of one crore of Bangla Desh refugees and the war, the economy showed a surprising degree of resilience in meeting those challenges.

Within the country, the new image has produced a new mood, one of self-confidence, in the people. The majority of the people would seem to look forward to a radical programme in the economic sphere, which would make the country self-reliant in the nearest possible future. Their goal of socialism means essentially more egalitarianism, removal of inequalities in wealth and income distribution, and a higher standard of living. How far does the economic scene of the country today promise the emergence of a self-reliant India, and how fast--these are the questions that are sought to be answered here.

Towards Self-Reliance :

The publication of the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan and the Union Budget Debate in Parliament have provided us an occasion to survey the state of the Indian economy and to think aloud on its strong points and weak spots. The over all picture that emerges this exercise is one that permits some satisfaction, but certainly no sense of complacency. For a second time, India was faced with the denial of some vital foreign aid. The lesson is clear : that excessive dependence on so uncertain and often so humiliating a factor as foreign aid is not desirable ; that we should resolve to tighten our belts and quicken the pace of our march to self-reliance.

After all, the amount of 400 to 500 million of average annual net foreign aid we received over the past four years is only less than one percent of our national income, and represents a sizeable decline from the original quantum of 2½ per cent. The Fourth plan acually envisaged a drastic reduction in aid. We have acquired considerable ability to withstand foreign exchange shortage over the last 20 years. Our record in meeting our international financial obligations is unblemished. We have not, as many countries including Pakistan have, unilaterally rescinded repayments. The repayment of principal and payment of interest charges to our creditors are of the order of $ 600 million this year and will stay there for a few more years. Still, this heavy outgo of foreign exchange has not much affected our reserves position which have shown a distinct improvement recently. But self-reliance does not and should not stop with reducing the dependence on external aid; its positive side consists in raising the domestic rate of savings and enhancing the rate of capital formation as envisaged in the plans. The rate of investment which was 13.4 per cent of the national product in 1965–66 had fallen to 9.5 per cent in 1968–69 and is expected to go up only to 11.1 per cent by 1973–74, the last year of the Fourth Plan. And the rate of domestic savings from 11.1 per cent in 1965–66, to 8.4. per cent in 1968-69; it is expected to go up to only 10.2 per cent in 1973–74.

New Approach to Planning.

This points to the imperative need to reduce domestic consumption. So the question of domestic resource mobilisation must be put squarely before the electorate and their enthusiasm and co-operation enlisted for its realisation. But people's confidence in the capacity of Government to deliver the goods is contingent on their sharing in the fruits of progress. The Indo–Pakistan conflict does appear to have awakened the authorities and the Planning Commission to the need to adopt a new approach to economic planning.

On April 6, 1972, the Planning Minister indicated a series of radical changes in Government policies and structual patterns in fulfilment of the Government's pledge to eradicate poverty. They relate to radical land reforms programme and land ceilings

based on the advent of science and technology in Indian farming in recent years, restraint on conspicuous consumption of the affluent, emphasis on investments in items of mass consumption, controls on distribution, changes in the administrative set-up and industrial relations, etc. He promised a frontal attack on unemployment and a new long-term strategy to control prices of essential commodities through control of production, procurement and distribution. The Planning Commission is now thinking in terms of 'multi-level planning' with the district as the unit of planning. Among other things, it made a strong plea for industrial peace, but the Government was not in favour of banning strikes. What is needed is the Workers' participation in management both in the public and the private sectors in order to ensure industrial peace.

All this may correctly reflect the new resolve of the Government to adopt new means to fight poverty. The question is, can we give the Indian economy a clean bill of health on the basis of the resilience it showed in shouldering the heavy burdens of the war and the refugees. A close scrutiny will reveal the maladies afflicting the economy.

Defects in Present Economy :

With the record production of foodgrains at 112 million tons in 1971–72 and 8 million tons of buffer stock on hand, India has been able not only to stop concessional import of foodgrains but to export some grains this year. We must soon be able to enter the export market for foodgrains in a selective way. What is now called for is to extend the greeen revolution to cash crops and step up production of oilseeds, sugarcane, cotton and jute. The industrial sector presents a somewhat dismal picture of failure. 'Industrial growth in 1971–72 was just above 3 per cent. Reasons are not far to seek: cut in foreign aid, consequent scarcity of imported raw materials, curbs on expansion of industrial units, insufficient financial assistance, industrial unrest, etc. are some of them. In background, the Planning Commission and the Economic Ministries have shown a welcome realism in shifting the accent in the future from creation of new industrial units to expansion and diversification of existing ones. Steel and fertilizers are good instances. If their output is increased to even 75–80 per cent of

capacity, the saving in foreign exchange will be so substantial as would enable the import of equipment, components and materials necessary to give a boost to production on all fronts in 1972. The Union Government has already removed curbs on expansion in firms in 54 specified 'Critical' industries. These units will now be allowed to raise their production to double their capacity without a fresh licence.

Industrial Growth :

Small-scale industry has justified the preferential treatment given to it by continuing to record satisfactory growth. This sector has taken up production of new and sophisticated items like television sets, tape-recorders, etc. The sector will continue to receive relatively larger allocations of raw-materials.

On the whole, the tempo of industrial activity, which had progressively decelerated in the past few years has just started picking up in 1971. If this trend is continued and higher levels of technological competence and cost consciousness are attained, the goal of Economic Swaraj might be achieved soon. Worthy of mention is the shift of priority from investments in industries producing luxury goods to those producing items of mass consumption. This is part of the new policy aimed at providing minimum needs of the people and improving their standards of living.

Labour and Wages :

Industrial disputes and mismanagement are also cited among the principal causes of closures of mills and the slump in industrial production. Strikes and lockouts which caused the loss of 21 million man-days in 1970 are a luxury India cannot afford. At the same time, there is no point in appealing to labour for a moratorium on strikes on patriotic grounds. In view of the economic compulsions of the day, the Central and State Governments have periodically met the pay rise demands of their employee. Wage demands arise from the Government's failure to hold the price line. So a moratorium on strikes and a wage freeze may have to wait until the Government succeeds in keeping the prices of essential commodities in check.

It is commendable that both Government and organized labour have made significant moves to solve the problem. The

Union Labour Ministry has launched a concerted drive to reopen industrial units closed due to industrial disputes. A law to enforce all accepted Wage Board recommendations is also on the anvil. The three major trade unions have reached a general agreement in February on the knotty question of union recognition. Further, for the first time they have agreed to avoid strikes in sensitive areas or department in important industries. Perhaps the proclaimed intension of the unions to celebrate the May Day this year jointly may serve to reduce inter-Union rivalries and help the growth of a healthy trade union movement in the country.

Export Promotion :

Export promotion and import substitution have for some time been recognised as the two sides of the coin of self-reliance. The rise in exports, registered in 1971–72 was only about 4 per cent as against the target of 7 per cent. If the trade gap of 350 million of 1971–72 is to be wiped out, a doubling of the export effort in the next two years of the plan will be necessary. The approval of the Trade Development Authority's proposals to shift plants of three British firms and one Dutch firm to India to manufacture certain industrial products entirely for exports represents a novel aspect of the Government's export promotion effort. Measures of import substitution include approvals for 245 units with foreign collaboration, of which 45 cases involve foreign financial participation.

Holding the Price Line :

Inflation and unemployment are problems that eluded all solutions and grew with the plans. Though it is true that the price situation did not go altogether out of hand at any time during the crisis-ridden year 1971–72, and the whole sale price index was only 4.1 percent higher at the end of January '72 than a year ago, this relatively easy position was mainly due to the increase in food–grains output and to a less extent to the price control measures, and the 5 per cent cut in non–Plan expenditure by the Union Government. But relentless efforts are called for to hold the price line.

The attitude of the States could be more co–operative in this regard. Their overdrafts on the Reserve Bank have touched an

all time high or Rs. 470 crores recently. They refuse to submit to more fiscal discipline. On the other hand, the State Chief Ministers have looked askance at the Agricultural Prices Commission's recommendation to reduce procurement prices of foodgrains. The Punjab Administration has gone one step further in demanding an increase in the procurement price of wheat. Meanwhile, the masses have to consume coarser grains as they cannot afford to buy superior cereals. The State Governments' stand may be politically sensible, but the case for lower procurement and issue prices is based on good sense and sound economics. Against this most recent experience, the Planning Minister's promise to adopt a long-term strategy to hold the price line may not easily carry conviction with the people. The sooner that strategy is evolved and translated into action, the better for every one.

Reducing Unemployment:

The issue of unemployment and under-employment has been one of the weakest spots in Indian Planning. Even the Fourth Plan final report does not go beyond stating that a major objective of the Plan is to create more employment opportunities in the rural and urban areas on an increasing scale. Most of the schemes drawn up by the Expert Committee on Unemployment (set up in 1970) involving a total outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores to generate 4 million job opportunities in the next two years find a place in the Fourth Plan. The schemes cover roads and inland water transport, rural water supply, education including adult literacy, rural electrification etc. A pertinent comment on such schemes will be that they are mostly of the nature of providing relief and do not lead to permanent and gainful employment to the unemployed millions. The way out lies in the extension of the industrial sector.

The U. N. Committee on Natural Resources recently informed us that India has mineral wealth, the tapping of which could make us fabulously rich. It seems our mineral resources are at least 100 times as great as those of the U. S. A. And yet,

we are spending several crores annually on import of ferrous and non-ferrous minerals. The surveying, tapping and processing of these minerals should go a long way in meeting the unemployment problem. The Planning Minister's assurance of absorbing all unemployed engineers in two years in the programme of mapping the natural resources, and his promise that science and technology would not starve for want of funds hereafter may well be the beginning of an honest attempt to make a dent on the unemployment problem.

Big Business :

Finally, no easy defence is possible against the charge that planning has contributed to the growth of big business in India, in the present context, a multiplicity of operational controls over private enterprise has greatly favoured the established large-scale enterprises. As they are playing for big stakes of high profits and power, they do not mind undertaking frequent pilgrimages through the jungle of controls. They have developed a vested interest in the prevailing system of controls which, of course, invites dishonesty and results in plain corruption. But, as the Mahalanobis Committee points out, "There is such a thing as the economy of scale which works in favour of big business on purely economic grounds, and economic considerations are certainly relevant in the context of our scarce resources and the imperative need for our making the most economic utilisation of these". The only possible solution to this knotty problem of concentration of economic power in a few hands is to mop up the profits of these oligarchies. Hence, steep taxation of corporate profits has been undertaken.

Eradicating Poverty :

If top priority is for eradication of poverty and for rapid growth with social justice, a bold policy of controlled all-round expansion of production and generation of incomes is indicated. Idle or unproductive labour, which is regarded as a curse and a cause of poverty and low living levels, can thereby be transformed into a potential source for development.

The pronouncement of Government spokesmen reveal their intense awareness of the problem confronting the economy and their determination to effect such changes in the planning strategy and policies as might lead to quick solutions. There is no time to be lost in their quick implementation. There is no use feeding the masses with empty hopes, for a stage has been reached where very rightly, "hope builds while knowledge destroys."

India has stood for breadth of vision, tolerance of the paints of view of others, of being battle, yet about it. We stand for democracy, for secularism and for socialism. Only this combination opens the way for full freedom, gives protection to the weaker sections and the opportunity for the growth of different personalities.

—Indira Gandhi

CEILING ON AGRL. LAND-HOLDING ITS ECONOMIC RATIONALE*

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Apart from the requirements of social justice, the case for a ceiling on agricultural land-holding in the present Indian context derives from considerations of economic efficiency as well. The supply of land as a source of income is extremely scarce in relation to the demand for it or, to put it differently, the man-land ratio in agriculture is very high owing to the meagre opportunities for employment in the non-agricultural sector. Considerations of equity and welfare require that the scarce commodity – in this case land – be rationed out among the members needing it. But scarcity is not a sufficient condition for a factor to be rationed out in this manner. In the Industrial sector, for instance, quite a few material factors are scarce in supply and yet no one advocates that they be employed in small family-managed units by breaking up the existing firms. Nevertheless, such a break-up is advocated for agriculture because, unlike in the modern manufacturing sector, the techonolgical coditions of agricultural production are such that land can be cultivated equally or even more efficiently in small units. Land as a factor of production is perfectly divisible. So are other inputs like water, labour, improved seeds, fertilisers, etc. Machines like tractors may not be required on a large scale where the man-land ratio is quite high. But if necessary, the size of such machines can be ordered to suit the farm size, or alternatively, they can be hired. Another factor favouring a farm ceiling is that the entrepreneurial or managerial talent required for farming is not in short supply. As such, the additional units created are likely to be managed equally or even more efficiently when compared to the existing large units, if credit is extended to them on reasonable terms from the financial institutions.

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It is not surprising, therefore, that the research work done in the last decade and a half on the economics of farm size has revealed small farms to be more efficient than large farms. The percentage of area irrigated, the cropping intensity or the percentage of cropped area to the area held, the labour input and the output per acre were invariably higher among small farms when compared to large farms. Large farms were found to combine more land with less labour – a technique which is out of line with the factor endowments obtaining at present in India. If large forms cannot use as much labour per acre as small farms owing to the high cost of labour or to the managerial and supervisory bottlenecks associated with labour-intensive techniques, then a redistribution of land from the larger to the smaller farms would raise total output and employment. This was the basic conclusion we had arrived at by analysing farm management data pertaining to the mid-fifties in the book "Agricultural Production Functions, Costs and Returns in India". It was observed in this study that if such a redistribution was considered politically not feasible, then an alternative way of making effective use of land among large farms was to intensify the use of capital inputs including machinisation. Such a tendency, i.e., the development of capitalist farming was already in evidence in the early sixties. The development of capitalist farming could result in large farms using more capital and less labour per acre when compared to the small farms. This would adversely affect employment and income of the poorer sections and would amount to misallocation of resources because output can be raised by redistributing the available land and capital among the small and marginal farms with surplus labour. Therefore, in the context of the growth of capitalist farming, efficiecy of farm size should be judged not by output per acre but by the factor proportions, e.g., land-labour and capital-labour rations. In a situation where there is widespread unemployment and underemployment, farms using more capital in relation to labour cannot be regarded as efficient even if they produce more output per acre. And such a technique would not be in keeping with the requirements of distributive justice.

Some of the latest available evidence regarding the efficiency of land-use in relation to farm size in Ferozepur (Punjab) - the seat of green revolution – shows that the percentage of holding

irrigated, the cropping intensity with respect to operated area, the net area sown as well as the net irrigated area (columns 4, 5 and 6 of Table 1) and the labour input per acre (total of family and hired) decline with the increase in the size of holding. These facts point to the same tendencies which were noticed in this district in the mid-fifties. In regard to output per acre held, however, there does not appear to be any systematic tendency in relation to the farm size. Thus in regard to the traditional techniques of land-use, e.g., irrigation, multiple cropping and the application of labour, small farms continue to be more efficient that the large farms. However, large farms have stepped up output per acre by taking a lead in the adoption of the new technology and by intensifying the use of capital inputs. Table 2 shows that the percentage of cropped area under the High-Yielding Varieties is highest among farms above 75 acres. The lowest magnitudes in this regard relate to farms below 10 acres. The lowest figures of labour input as well as the highest figures of fertiliser input per acre relate to the two largest holding size groups. Column 5 of this Table shows that the ratio of expenditure on fertilisers to the expenditure on labour (including the imputed value of family labour) rises with the increase in the size of holding. Farms above 75 acres account for the highest output per cropped acre. These facts bring out sharply the increasing substitution of capital for labour among large (capitalist) farms.

It is clear from the above that a redistribution of land and capital resources from the large to the small and marginal farms may raise total output and employment owing to the larger availability of labour per unit of land and capital among smaller farms. More equitable distribution of land would thus result in more employment and income for small farmers apart from contributing to the more efficient use of the available resources.

It is often argued that even though redistribution of land may increase output and employment in the short-run, the growth of output and employment may slow down in the long-run owing to the reduction in savings and investment as the small farmers consume away a larger proportion of their income than do the large farmers. Even if we assume that the so-called "trade-off" exists between better distribution and growth (i. e.,

an improved distribution of income may slow down the growth of output), this proposition remains uninteresting because the "growth rate" is an aggregate magnitude which abstracts entirely from the distribution of gains. For, it is quite possible that as a result of improved distribution even if the overall growth of output is slowed down, the share of the poorer classes may remain higher in the long-run when compared to what they would have obtained in the absence of redistribution and with a higher growth rate. In such a case, the slower growth implies a cut into the share of the richer classes. Therefore, the concept of "trade-off" between growth and distribution has little meaning when certain sections gain at the expense of others. It is not like a trade-off, say between income and leisure when an individual (or a class) sacrifices some leisure in return for additional income or vice-versa.

However, the proposition that improved distribution must slow down the overall rate of growth is itself open to serious doubts. If better distribution reduces investible surplus because it increases the consumption by the poor, it may, for the some reason, raise their efficiency. When the consumption levels of the poor are very low, the efficiency of labourers may increase significantly with rise in their consumption. Rise in the efficiency of labour would mean an improvement in the output-capital ratio. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that the decline in savings, if any, as a result of improved distribution may be more than compensated by improvement in the output-capital ratio, so that output may grow faster with an improved distribution. Further, such a growth process ensures that the gains of development accrue to the poorer sections.

A more fundamental objection to the "trade-off" proposition is that it assumes that the institutional and behavioural patterns would remain unaffected by so radical a change as redistribution of land. A community which can effect a radical redistribution income and wealth is usually capable of bringing about the required changes in institutions and behavioural patterns for mobilising more savings by cutting down inessential consumption. Such a community can also introduce and absorb technical changes which would not otherwise be possible. The experience of other countries suggests that the phases of radical redistribution have been

dynamic in respect of other innovations as well, so that growth has in fact been higher in periods following redistribution.

The contribution of the proposed ceilings on agricultural land-holdings consists not so much in the 'surplus' land that is likely to be made available for distribution among the landless as in arresting or slowing down the growth of capitalist farming in agriculture. A substantial contribution of the current drive for ceilings is to be found in the sale of land by the big land owners and in their reluctance to acquire more land in future. In sofar as large land owners lease out land to the small tenants and share-croppers, the latter may automatically acquire ownership rights with the imposition of ceilings at fairly low levels.

A strong tendency for the development of capitalist farming has been in evidence in certain high-growth pockets of the country where the green revolution has made the greatest impact. Considerations of equity as well as of efficiency require that such tendencies are curbed. If this be made the major objective of ceilings—as it ought to be—then ceiling on ownership holdings as presently contemplated will have to be combined with ceiling on operational holdings and ceiling on the future acquisition of land. Despite a ceiling on ownership holding, a capitalist farmer can outbid the small and marginal farmers in the land market and enlarge his operational holding by leasing in land. It is not without significance that in Punjab and in certain other regions of the country, large farmers as a group lease in much larger area from the small farmers than they lease out to them. A ceiling on operational holding at the same level as that on ownership holding may improve the bargaining position of the small and marginal farmers in the land and capital market and may thus help to improve their income and employment. Similarly, a ceiling on the future acquisition of land at a substantially lower level than the existing ceiling would tilt the land market, and with it the capital market, in favour of small farmers. A family should be permitted to buy land in future only to the extent that its total holding after such acquisition will not exceed, say, 5 or 7.5 acres or a certain proportion of the existing ceiling. This measure should be combined with the provision of loans from the public financial institutions on liberal terms for the purchase of land.

Table 1

Intensity of Land-Use According to the Size of Operational Holding : Ferozepur (Punjab) 1968–69

Holding Size Group (acres)	Average Size (acres)	Percentage of Area irrigated	Percentage of Cropped Area to Operated Area	Percentage of Cropped Area to Net Area Sown
0–5	4.99	100.00	164.36	164.36
5–10	7.90	92.49	148.30	135.06
10–20	15.07	92.61	135.11	144.36
20–30	25.01	86.74	142.09	147.46
30–50	39.24	85.60	128.80	139.00
50–75	58.55	78.17	97.14	117.27
75–100	86.80	89.40	117.16	122.11
100–above	129.22	67.28	73.38	121.42
Overall	30.40	85.34	124.19	136.86

—*Contd.*

Table 1—Contd.

Holding Size Group (acres)	Percentage of Gross Irrigated Area to Net Irrigated Area	Labour Input per Acre Held	Output (Rs.) per Acre Held
0–5	164.36	265.85	1,446.82
5–10	151.18	305.09	580.67
10–20	140.44	316.57	823.81
20–30	149.82	305.89	786.54
30–50	139.64	215.18	724.61
50–75	118.16	161.57	579.65
75–100	130.14	182.61	1,197.41
100–above	109.07	158.19	669.29
Overall	137.05	230.92	770.36

Source: A. S. Kahlon, "Studies in Economics of Farm Management, Ferozepur District (Punjab), 1968–69", College of Basic Sciences and Humanities, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana.

Table 2

Expenditure on Labour and Fertilizers and Output Per Cropped Acre According to the Size of Operational Holding – Ferozepur, Punjab, 1968–69.

Holding Size Group (Acres)	Percentage of Cropped Area under High-Yielding Varieties	Expenses (Rs.) on Labour Per Cropped Acre	Expenses (Rs.) on Fertilizers per Cropped Acre	Ratio of Expenditure on Fertilizers to labour	Output (Rs.) Per Cropped Acre
0–5	—	109.83	6.34	0.06	880.24
5–10	17.86	127.53	16.53	0.13	391.54
10–20	29.14	132.02	23.69	0.18	609.74
20–30	25.92	130.83	33.54	0.26	553.54
30–50	31.60	106.16	32.40	0.31	562.57
50–75	19.27	111.51	22.04	0.20	596.72
75–100	39.63	93.61	60.91	0.65	1022.71
100–above	64.06	91.87	35.39	0.39	912.01
Overall	30.43	115.94	32.43	0.28	620.29

Source: A.S. Kahlon, "Studies in Economics of Farm Management, Ferozepur District, (Punjab), 1968–69" College of Basic Sciences and Humanities, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana.

SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

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The history of development of industries is largely affected by the stage of economic development and by the economic skill of the society. Prior to the year 1948, the only occupation in India was agriculture. The agricultural population is distributed in rural areas, and their requirements were being met by a number of cottage industries, such as pottery, blacksmithy, carpentry, spinning & weaving, handicrafts & handlooms, cet. A few textile mills were established in big cities with imported plants and machinery, but these can be classified as large scale industries.

After the achievement of freedom, consideration began to be given to indigenous manufacturing of some of the products that were till then imported. Efforts were made to commercialise and improve the efficiency of cottage industries. A few repair shops came about to maintain and repair the imported machinery and equipments. Till the year 1950, for instance, diesel engines were imported in a large number in the country, and these engines were used mostly by farmers for lifting water for irrigation purposes. These repair and maintenance shops had to be established in the proximity of the location of these diesel oil pumping sets.

With the growing shortage of foreign exchange, as also because of the steps being taken by the Government of India to encourage and develop an industrial base within the country, a large number of industries mostly in the small scale sector began to come up in the country. The growth of small industries was

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also economically feasible as the small industries had a number of intrinsic advantages especially for a developing economy.

1. It raises the econimic efficiency of traditional industry. Take for instance, pottery. From pottery one has progreesed to making jars and pots, China ware and crockery, and we are now attempting the manufacture of bone china.

2. Investment of money in the starting of an industry leads to formation of further capital as an industry goes on producing goods and service which help in the formation and accumulation of capital. This use contrasts with the money spent in buying ornaments or in festivals.

3. Once a person sees small industrialists earning substantially, he begins to save capital so that he also can enter into industry. At the same time, established industrialists want to increase their business or efficiency by investing further in the industry. This leads to increase in capital saving.

4. The employment potential of small industry is fairly high as on an average for every Rs. 5,000/- investment in small industry, one person is employed. As unemployment is increasing rapidly in the country, encouragement and incentives may have to be given to the establishment of small industries and for the development of trade as these have possibilities of giving maximum employment for a unit of investment.

5. Small industries can be started in smaller places to meet the localised demand. Certain industries like the manufacture of tiles and cement pipes, etc., have to be started near the consumer and have necessarily to be set up in different places. Besides this spatial dispersal, the small industry also has the advantage of economic dispersal as the different units engaged in the manufacture may be owned by different individuals.

6. A number of units manufacturing the same product leads to the development of competitive market. However, there is a tendency for new persons to enter into the lines which have been successfully promoted by others. This may lead to cut throat competition when production is increasee beyond the capacity of the market to absorb and all the units engaged in

the particular product will suffer. This happened—for example, in the diesel engine industry. More over, if the product is machinery or equipment, the manufacturer has to develop a sound servicing net work and back it up with a marketing organisation. Unfortunately, in a cut throat competition, servicing is the first casualty. Marketing is considered as an unnecessary bother in the intial scarcity situation. Besides servicing and marketing, it is equally necessary for equipment manufacturers to develop their products further. There is, however, very little consideration for further research or development of the product. It will, therefore, be necessary to introduce cooperative servicing, marketing and development in small scale sector engaged in manufacture of machinery and equipment whilst considering their modernisation.

7. A man starting a small industry begins to have confidence in himself and moves up in the social hierarchy. Seeing the prospects of making profit he also is willing to shift to new areas far from his birth place. He begins to realise that he is contributing to the economic development of the country and he knows that he can independently make his living. One of the important contributions of the small industry is the social mobility achieved by small industrialists.

8. Industrial development of a country is dependent upon the development of an industrial base manufacturing parts, components and equipments needed for complicated final assemblies, whether it be screws, nuts, bolts, taps, dies, files, castings, forgings or specialised components such as fuel injection pumps, measuring instruments, etc. The industrial development demands that all these should be made in quantities so that they are readily available both for maintenance and for development of new machinery and equipment. One of the strongest arguments for the development of small industry in an intensive manner is that it gives a boost to the overall industrial development of a country.

9 When a person sets up a small industry, he develops deep roots within the society and grows himself into an independent

person earning enough to lookafter himself as also for his future development. He also begins to save money and contribute by way of taxation to the National Exchequer. He thus becomes a stable citizen. In other words we may say that the small industry helps in the development of a stable middle class society.

10. As the small industry is generally owner-managed with a few employees, there is a direct contact between the owner and the labour. Though he may not be the best pay-master, he develops intimate labour relations with his employees.

11. As the small industry starts in areas which are familiar to the technician or manufacturer, it is prone to be more indigenous and is not very much dependent upon foreign collaboration. In large industry, as the investment involved is large, one is prone to play safe by entering into collaboration inspite of the possibility that he could undertake to manufacture the product by himself provided he was willing to take the risk.

12. Technology is growing at a very fast pace, whether it is in chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronics, or even in machine tools. Some of the technologies demand high investment and big size such as petrochemicals; others can be started in small scale sector. Even otherwise, investment in new technology in small scale sector involves less risk.

13. Where the market is specialised or small, it is advantageous to instal a small scale plant than in starting production on an optimum scale without the necessary market for it.

14. When the demand is locally concentrated in a particular area, it is feasible to start a small scale industry to meet these localised considerations.

15. Items involving heavy transport cost such as cement pipes are ideally suited for manufacture in a small scale sector in dispersed locations.

16. Items demanding heavy consumption of water, such as tannery, and chemicals, or requiring heavy use of electricity,

have to be located near source of water and or electricity. These are ideal types of industries for rural areas. Many of them can be, and are small scale industries.

17. Weight loosing items, such as ice or perishable items such as bakery, confectionery, fish processing, food proceessing, etc., have to be started either near the source of market or near the source of supply. These items are suitable for rural development as also for small scale industries.

18. Certain items require high floor space or high unskilled labour contents. Items being framed out by the developed economies to Developing Countires fall in these categories. These suit both the rural and small industries.

19. Industries consuming raw materials directly like wood working, furniture making, etc., have to be set up near the supply of raw materials. These are suitable both for rural development and small scale industries.

20. If there is restriction on demand or there is lack of demand, or the demand is latent, the industry has to be started at least initially on a small scale sector.

21. Certain raw material is available only from fixed sources, such as coir products, seafood, etc. Such types of industries have to be set up near the availability of raw material and are thus suitable for rural development and small scale industry.

22. Items where production technology envisages the production in small scale sector are by their nature well suited to small scale sector.

All these advantages have cumulative impact on the development of small scale industries. The small scale industries registered with the Directorate of Industries now number over two lakhs and 20 thousand in India. It is presumed that an equally large number is not registered with the Directorate of Industries. The yearly growth of small scale industry in the year 1966 has been worked out to about 16%. All this points out to the tremendous social, political and economic advantages in embarking on a small scale industry in India.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

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Communication services in the conventional sense of the term includes Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services, Overseas Communications and Meteriology. Besides these, the Broadcasting service, the television, the newspaper and news services can, in a way, be considered to form part of the overall communication system of a country. The growth of communcations, boardcasting and television is an integral ingredient of the econmic and technonlogical advance of the country. In turn the expansion of the industry, increase in the commercial activity, rite in the living standards of the population, growth of literacy and improvements in the social life of the country influence the rate at which the communication services are developed.

The communications system is a vital service of great national importance which recognises no limits. Unlike the social services or the public utilities whose incidence and benefit are confined to a given area or at the most a country and its people, the Communications service is an international necessary of life whose ranifications extend into countries beyond the frontiers to facilitate the forging of political, economic and cultural bonds. One has to depend upon the public press, the radio, television, books and periodicals, as also individual correspondence with people to maintain these relationships. Whether it be in the field of administration, diplomacy, industry, trade or education, it is unthinkable that visible progress can be attained in the absence of, or with inadequate development of, the communications.

The present state of developmet of the communications system in India is such that a discerning Indian can feel satisfied, but not complasent. Though progress in the different fields of communications development has been steady, there is still much to be wished for and to be accomplished. Some of the deficiencies

afflicting the system are inherent, some due to economic reasons while some others are ascribable to matters of policy.

It is regrettable that some, at least, of these deficincies exist even today on account of the continuance of government policies followed, though in a modified form, from the pre-independence days.

The basis for the growth and development of the communication system was laid by the Sub-committee on Communication, Service and Industry of the National Planning Committe of the Indian National Congress whose report was published in 1947. The Sub-committee was required to deal with.

(a) the organisation of Communications, including postal service, telegraphs and telephones as well as radio;

(b) industries concerned with the manufacture, and connected with providing of instruments and apparatus needed for telegraphs, telephones and radio, and their parts and accesseries.

(c) encouragement of tourist traffic including hotels, travel agencies and banking facilities.

The Sub-Committee, on a consideration of the situation existing in 1944-45, and after comparing the growth registered during the period between 1939-40 and 1944-45 has fixed certain modest targets to be achieved during the following ten years for the country. Though these targets lost their relevence with the partition of the country, the general guiding principles are valid even today because they considered the short-comings of the system, identified their causes and suggested remedial measures which, if implemented, will lead to an improvement in the quality of service and pave the way for expansion.

The basic defect of the communications system in India is its inadequacy to meet the requirements of the country and its people by any standard. This is evident by the statistics of the number of post offices, telegraph offices, telephone connections, Radio Receiving Licences in force and also the extent of use made of by the public of the facilities provided. Some of the reasons for the inadequate use of the postal facilities by the public is the high cost

of these services, the inadequate spread of the post offices and telegraph offices, particularly in the rural areas of the country, and the general low level of the literacy of the Indians.

The reason for the inadequate spread of the post and telegraph offices in the country is the policy of the government in the past that a new post office will be opened only if it is self-supporting financially. Though this attitude has changed a little, even now, the policy is to open new post offices only in areas where the loss is not more than Rs. 750 per annum, and Rs. 500 for telegraph offices, in groups of villages with-in a radius of two miles having a population of 2000 and not having a post office within three miles. During the period of the Second Five year plan post offices were opened at the headquarters of national extension and community development blocks, subject to the usual condition. Exceptions were made in places where schools run by district and local authorities, and those recognised by the State Governments existed.

A more important reason for the retarded growth in the development of the postal services and the high rates charged for the postal services is the very philosophy on which the posts and Telegraphs Department is organised. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department is a part of the Ministry of Communications. The Secretary of the department holds the charge of Directorate–General of Posts and Telegraphs and is also the Chairman of the Posts and Telegraphs Board. The Board is responsible for the development, maintenance and expansion of posts telegraphs, telephone, and wireless communications. Its work includes the issue of wireless receiving licences, management of the post-office Savings Bank, issue of National Savings Certificates, Postal Life Insurance Policies and the collection of customs duty on postal articles. It frames the postal budget and in such a capacity is more and more swayed by the needs of balancing the budget.

Though the preperation of the balanced budget by itself is not undesirable, the tendency to raise the prices of an item of social utility on the ostensible plca of paying for it, is disastrous. It may ultimately lead to a situation where a backward region may not be able to afford any extension of postal services because the revenue is low or is not there at all, while the developed regions

get more developed because they can pay for it. Another facet of this tendency is that since the state holds the monopoly for providing these facilities it tries to exploit the consumer whenever it pleases, with or without valid reason. It is hardly necessary to prove it if one talks the trouble of studying the changes in the postal rates from the beginning of the present country, particul-arly during the wars and during the plan period, and also if one studies the reasons given out by the Minister for Communications to the parliament each time he proposed an increase in the Postal rates. Further, the trend has been that when once the rates are put up on an emergency basis, to continue them even after the emergency has ceased to exist.

The sooner this attitude is given up and is replaced by one which realises that the communications are a social utility and must be developed inspite of their being uneconomic, the better it is because they pay off through growth registered in the other spheres of economic social and cultural improtance; an alternative suggestion could be to constitute a fund for the development of communication system and to make annual grants therein-to from the general budget, besides allowing the Post office to manage its affairs ataunomously subject to the general direction by the Minister to maintain standards of service. It may be mentioned that a Telephone Development Fund was created in 1938-39 with a grant of Rs. 2.5 crores to secure proper development and timely execution of telephone projects during the following five years. This ensures that the execution of the development projeets is not handicaped for lack of finances. In the recent past there have been many such instances where seperate corporations were established to manage specific project, latest being the corporation set up to manage aerodromes used for international civil aviation.

If these bases are accepted and impemented some more steps may be taken to ensure a proper utilisation of the existing postal services and to improve upon them by adding some more to take advantage of its sprawling organisations.

Postal :- The first step is to reduce the postal rates, and encourage the people to make a better utilisation of the available services than at present. The force of this argument becomes

evident if it is noted that the average number of letters per head delivered during 1969–70 was 12.1, accounting for one letter a month. This is not the whole story; nearly 30% of the villages do not have delivery of mails. Out of more than 5 lakh villages in India, those having delivery of mails was 3,20,311 on 31-12-68 and 3,37,655 on 31–12–69. The total number of post offices on 31–12–70 was 1,05,433 for the whole country which includes both urban and rural post offices. In order to reach more people and enable them to make a better use of the facilities it is equally necessary to extend the postal services into the remote villages which do not have then. At present this has the double advantage of providing the incantive for literacy and to enable the state to reach the remote villages for publicising its social welfare activities with no additional expenditure.

A natural corollary to the opening of new post offices is to spread the utilisation of the other subsidiary services of the post office like the Savings Bank, sale of National Savings Certificates, spread of Postal Life Insurance to supplement the efforts of the Life Insurance Corporation though issuing policies of small value at lower premium rates, intensifying the sales of Nirodh and any other.

Some time ago the Post offices in the country were setting pure quinine to the public as part of the compaign to fight malaria, which is since discontinued. This line of activity should not only be revived but also diversified by adding some more patent drugs like pain relievers, cheap vitamins and protein biscuits at cost price or at a meagre profit to improve the health of the masses without additional organisation.

The utility of the Post office Savings Bank may be increased by providing the facility of transfering the funds for the account holders at rates lower than those for money orders in the same way as the commercial banks provide the free mail transfer facility to their Savings bank account customers. This will attract more people to keep their monies in the Post office saving bank who will benefit by the low rates allowed for the transfer of funds and also obviate the extra expenditure incurred in the supply and handling of the money order forms.

The number of post offices doing Savings bank work as on 31–3–70 was 87,783. Though this number is quite large when compared to the number of the branches of the commercial banks in the country, it is only 83% of the number of post office in the country. The total amount of money kept in the post office savings bank as on 31–3–1970 was Rs. 1,894 crores and the amount kept in cumulative deposit scheme was Rs. 78.7 crores. If the Savings bank facility is provided in all the post offices of the country, one can reasonably expect at least a 10% increase in the savings bank deposits and they compare favourable with the total deposit of the State Bank of India. The mobilisation of rural savings can be achieved at no extra cost.

Telegraph :– The number of telegraph offices in the country at the beginning of 1970 was 14,925 accounting for one office for 30,200 persons which is poor show by any standard, though the numbers of the telegraph offices has been increasing progresively from 3,600 in 1950–51 to 5,100 in 1955–56 and to 6,450 in 1960-61. Here again the same difficulty that existed in regard to the opening of new post offices reappeared, though to a lesser extent. Before independance, the policy was to open a telegraph office only when it was self supporting; during the First Plan period it was to open an office when the working loss was Rs. 500/– which was raised to Rs. 1,000/– during the Second Plan Period. It is not necessary to repeat how unsound the policy is.

To make the telegraph service more effective it is necessary, besides increasing the number of telegraph offices, to reduce the charges, improve the efficiency by reducing the time–lag between the booking and delivery of the messages and increase the number of teleprinter lines and exchanges. To increase the spread of the telegram services and derive more revenue the following experiment may be tried: Increase the number of stations where phonogramme are accepted, increase the number of messages in the list of Greetings Telegrams, accept them well in advance to be delivered on the stipulated date and reduce the charges. The messages delivered earlier in the post office may be transmitted leisurely when the traffic is a lack and delivered at the destination on the stipulated date. For example, if the message of the greating telegram is to be delivered immediately, normal charges may be levied, while 50% or 25% where-of may

be levied if it is delivered for transmission before 7 days or 14 days respectively.

Telephone :- The number of telephones was 1,68,000 before the commencement of the First Five year plan to which 1,12,000 new phones were added upto 1956 making a total of 2,80,000. During the Second Plan period the number of new connections given was 1,80,000. During the Third Plan period the number of new connections issued was 2,00,000 besides converting 50,000 mannually operated lines into automatic ones. During the third plan automatic exchanges were installed in 45 towns and in 32 towns the existing ones were expanded. During this period additional equipment was installed in some large cities to provide telephones with six digits.

The total number of telephones as on 31-3-1970 was 11,75,000, of which 1,45,477 were under the Own Your Telephone scheme. The waiting list for new phones as on 31-12-1969 was 4,50,000. Subscriber trunk dialing was provided on 21 routes all over the country to link centres of business and strategic importance. National Subscriber Dialing net-work is being planned to enable subscribers in all automatic exchanges to directly dial others in other places. This facility is already available in some cities. Under this scheme National Dialing Trunk Automatic Exchanges have been commissioned in Madras, Bombay and Delhi. Laying of coaxial cables to provide a large number of high grade circuits between important cities was taken up in 1958 and the work is still progressing. Work on the Micro-wave communication which was started in the beginning of 1968-69 was completed over a distance of 2455 Km (1534 miles) as on 17-8-1970 and is still progressing.

As at the end of 1968-69, 1,200 teleprinter services including 600 in Hindi are available and the Telex net work consists of 5,960 lines. This service is proposed to be further expanded. International Telex service is avaiiable to 70 countries from India.

Wireless :- The other form of the communication system is the wireless comprising of wireless telephone, Radio telegram and Radio-Photo services. Wireless telegraph service was first started between India and U. K. in 1927 and between India and Japan

in 1933 by the Indian Radio and Cable Communication Co. Ltd. From 1933 this company started operating radio telephone services via United Kingdom with a number of countries of the world.

The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department established radio telephone and radio telegraph services between Madras and Rangoon and radio telegraph services between Calcutta and Bangkock, Madras and Columbo and between Peshawar and Kabul. Before the World War II radio telegraph services were established between India and Iraq, by Cables and Wireless Ltd.

The functions of the Wireless communication system consist, among others, of radio direction finding, aeronautical and shipping communication services, commercial radio telephones, commercial radio telegraph, and providing communication in the strategic areas.

During the Second World War direct radio telecommunications were established with USA, Australia and China. Thus at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan direct radio tele-communications were available with Burma, ceylon, Thailand, Japan, China, U.K, USA, Australia and Pakistan. The schemes executed during the First Plan and Second Plan resulted in the establishment of radio telegraph circuits with 23 countries, radio telephone circuits with 23 countries and radio photo services with 9 countries besides the direct services provided by the overseas communication service to some of our embassies and consulates abroad.

The Third plan envisaged the provision of radio telegraph facilities to 9 more countries and radio telephone connections to 3 more countries. The laying of the circuits is so designed as to be distributed for operation from all the four overseas communication centres in India namely Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi and Madras. The plan aims at the integration of services provided by all the four centres, so that in the event of failure of any centre, it will be possible to maintain contact with the outside world through the other centres. As a result of the implementation of the expansion schemes of wireless communications during the three plans and during the annual plans after 1966, the overseas and internal wireless communications net—work as on 31-3-1970 consists of international telecommunication facilities to 70 countries, 230 wireless stations of which 12 are coastal stations,

6 monitoring stations, 74 are departmental stations and 138 are leased stations. The number of radio telegraph circuits is 266.

In order to provide a firm base for the expansion of the telecommunication net work in the country, the Indian Telephone Industries Ltd. was established in 1948 in the capital of which the Government of India participaied to the extent of 90% the remaining 10% being provided by the Government of Mysore and the Automatic Telephone and Electric Co. Ltd. of England. The factory was substantially expanded during the three plans with outlays of Rs. 350 lakhs, Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 280 lakhs respectively which enabled it to increase production to 1,60,000 telephone instruments and exchange equipment for 1,00,000 exchange lines per annum.

During the third plan a provision of Rs. 1.4 crores was made to establish a teleprinter factory, for which the Hindustan Teleprinters Ltd. was formed to work in collaboration with an Italian firm in December 1960 with an initial capacity of 1000 machines to be attained by 1963-64. As stated earlier, tha number of teleprinters working in the country as on 31-3-69 was 1,200.

Further provisions were made to expand the capacity of the existing Central Telegraph Workshop at Alipore, the establishment of a posts and telegraph workshop at Maithon, and the setting up of research and training centres.

Broadcasting and Television :-

In India, while the postal and telegraph services were started by the State, the telephones and wireless services were first started by the private enterprise. Soon after the World War I private broadcasting clubs established in the three presidency towns – Bombay, Calcutta and Madras began experimenting with the dissemination of news of general interest with the help of small transmitting sets of their own on a limited range. The programmes provided by them become popular in the regions served by them.

To provide the necessary encouragement and also to see that the State does not assume any undue burden and responsibility, the Government of India adopted the practice of subsidising

these clubs to supplement their revenues derived from the licence fees collected from the owners of the receiving sets. As this was found to be inadequate to finance the development to meet the deemand from other areas, after several years of negotiation, the government formed a statutory body called Indian Broadcasting Corporation to provide news, information of general interest and cultural broadcasts. This corporation was a public monopoly, and was fully autonomous. This corporation was short–lived and was taken into liquidation in early 1930, its work being taken over by Government of India. Later the Indian State Broadcasting Service was formed as anothr statutory corporation, and has since been renamed the All India Radio, with a Central Broadcasting Advisory Committee and regular staff comprising of general and technical directors, organisers and specialist advisers. This was brought under the control of the Ministry of ISB. Two 1½ KW transmittres were established, one each at Bombay and Calcutta in July and August 1927 respectively. In 1936 a 20 KW transmitter started functioning from Delhi out of a grant of Rs. 2.5 lakhs made in 1934. In 1936, a special fund of Rs. 40 lakhs was created for the further development of Broadcasting in Bombay and Calcutta and a 0.25 KW transmitter set up in Peshawar. Between 1937 and 1942 more stations were developed and in 1944 a 100 KW transmitter started functioning from New Delhi to disseminate news and information to listeners within a radius of 500 miles. Shortly later another 100 KW transmitter was installed in Delhi to serve as a link between the Central News Agency and the Delhi station and also for relaying important broadcasts from Delhi.

A fully equipped Broadcasting House was constructed in Delhi in 1934.

The number of broadcasting receiving licences in 1945 was 1,99,589.

During the First Five Year Plan an initial allocation of Rs. 3.52 crores was made and it was later on raised to Rs. 4.94 crores. The targets attained were, six 50 KW medium wave transmitters, eight 20 KW medium wave transmitters, five medium wave transmitters of lesser power to serve local needs, and three short wave transmitters to serve local needs in hilly terrain, thus providing at

least one transmitting station to each language and adeqate coverage facilities to the different regions.

The Second Five Year Plan provided for an outlay of Rs. 9 crores. The stress was on the development of the regional broadcasting and strengthening of the regional services. A small beginning was made by starting a television station in Delhi, mainly for educational purposes. It was also proposed to distribute 72,000 radio sets to be installed in the community halls of villages having a population of 1,000 and more.

The Third Five Year Plan provided for an out-lay of Rs.10.96 crores with the main object of making internal coverage more effective and strengthening the external services. The expansion scheme provides for the installation of 55 medium wave and 2 short wave transmitters, with the object of providing an alternate channel for light music for the urban listeners. A provision of Rs. 40 lakhs was made for starting television in Bombay. 32,000 community sets were proposed to be distributed among the villages under the community development programme. External broadcasting services are to be improved by incurring an expenditure of Rs. 2 crores.

As at the end of 1969, the All India Radio under-went further expansion. The total number of transmitting stations was 99. Language lessons in Hindi aɹe broadcast from three stations, and radio lessons in eight other languages are broadcast fɹom eight stations for the benefit of those who want to learn new languuges. Television stations are functioning in Delhi and Bombay and a sub-station in Poona. The number of TV licences on 31–12–69 was 12,303 and the number of Radio licenses of different kinds was 1,05,005,578 yeilding a total sum of Rs, 12,56,71,389 as licence fees.

The foregoing account gives a picture of the development of the communications in India during the period under review as stated earlier, the growth has been large enough considering the paucity of resources. Added to this was the apathy of the rulers towards development of the system and the undue stress laid by them on the commercial vaibility of any expansion scheme.

To make the communications system reach the masses for whom it is intended and to the fullest benefit, in is necessary to take some additional steps, some of which are detailed below.

A scheme should be prepared in conjunction with the Indian Airlines Corporation to extend the airmail service to all the places in the country with air transport facility at present, to be extended later on to all the other places where there is a civil aerodrome.

Wherever found necessary, a minimum degree of mechanisation should be introduced not only to improve the efficiency of handling to mails but also to economise the operations.

With regard to the All India Radio, the facilities for transmission must be expanded further to broadcast programmes in each one of the 125 rural languages and dialects spoken in the country and also strengthen the transmission services in the 19 major languages. The external services must be improved and expanded to project a proper image of India to the listeners abroad.

At the present stage of development of India, it is doubtful if the fullest benefit of television can be derived by the people. This is because the cost of television sets is very high and there is no local industry for their manufacture. When the National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress considered the plan for the expansion of the broadcasting facilities in India in 1945 they opined that the radio manufacturing industry must be developed as to be able to supply radio sets to the public at Rs. 30/- per set. Comparing the price level in 1945 with that of 1970 we can feel satisfied that a good radio set can be had now for Rs. 250/-. Unless television sets in India can also be supplied for about the same price, the development of television can be withheld except for purpose of political prestige. For this purpose, the television sets should be supplied by the Government to be installed only in public places and restriction should be imposed on this use by private consumers to prevent the frittering away of the national resources.

Another step that is necessaay is to entrust the management of the radio and television services to an autonomous body free from state eontrols. More industries must be established for the manufacture of the communications equipment like the telegraph, teleprinters, telephones, cables, radio transmitters, radio receiving sets, television sets. The ultimate objective should be to attain self-sufficiency.

NATIONALISATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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The word 'Nationalisation' carries emotional overtone in many years. It is very difficult for most of us not to be influenced by these overtones. An attempt, however, will be made in this article to present an objective analysis of the various motives underlying nationalisation and examine the link between nationalisation and economic development.

The motives underlying nationalisation may be classified into ideological, nationalistic and economic. In many cases it is impossible to isolate a single motive in regard to a particular measure, since it is possible that a nationalisation measure may be prompted by more than one motive. Insptite of this limitation it is possible to point out the dominating motive underlying a given set of nationalisation measures undertaken by a country.

Nationalisations that are influenced mainly by ideological motivations are carried out with the revolutionary zeal, with a view to change the essential structure of the economy by abolishing private ownership of the most important means of production and as a prelude to a new economic order – the socialist ecnomic order. These nationalisations aim at a radical change in the property relationships and are directed towards changing the economic positions of the former owners. Accordingly, it is said, "…. it (nationalisation) must not be regarded purely as an economic measure. While it is true that the fundamental elements of nationalisation – the collective ownership of the means of production and their utilisation in the general interest – seem to have a strictly economic aspect, it would nevertheless be an error to look upon socialism, or its derivative nationalisation, as exclusively economic and materialistic institutions. Their objectives are, indeed, more lofty, being of a political and ethical

order".[1] Nationalisation measures effected in the U.S.S.R. after 1917 and by the East European countries between 1945 to 1950 afford illustrations of nationalisations which were primarily motivated by ideological consideations.

Nationalisation measures based on nationalistic motive are mainly prompted by the desire of the States to get rid of the domination of foreign capital in their national economies. Nationalisation measures undertaken by the South American Republics both before and after the Second World War, and by countries like Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Iran, since 1945 provide good examples of nationalisations motivated primarily by nationalistic considerations, ideological considerations playing a secondary or no role at all.[2]

Government which are committed to a policy of 'mixed economy' and which are not unduly concerned with the domination of foreign capital resort to nationalisation primarily for economic reasons. In these economies nationalisation is advocated as an economic expediency and for pragmatic reasons rather than as an instrument of anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist struggle. India provides a clear illustration of this patrern. Though the growth of public sector in India has been very rapid since independence, it has been mainly due to newly started industries by the State. The Industrial Resolutions of 1948 and 1956 laid emphasis on the expansion of public sector by sponsoring new industries and expanding the existing public sector undertakings.[3] This policy of the State has been responsible for limited and selective nationalisation measures in India during the last 25 years. Nationalisation in this country affected mainly:

A. Financial institutions like the Reserve Bank of India, the Imperial Bank of India, the Life Insurance business, the commercial banks and the general insurance; and

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1 Katzarov K., "The Theory of Nationalisation". Martinus Nijhoff/The Hague/1964, pp. 13, 14.

2 White, G., "Nationalisation of Foreign Property" Stevens/ London/1961.

3 Sachs, I., "Patterns of Public Sector in Underdeveloped Economies", Chapter 7, Asia (1964).

B. Public utilities like Rail, Road and Air Transport and Electrical undertakings.

It is interesting to note that for nearly 13 years between 1956 and 1969 no major nationalisation schemes were introduced by the Government of India. After nationalising Life Insurance business in 1956 the Government of India waited for 13 years to decide in favour of nationalising the leading commercial banks of the country. During these 13 years the Government of India was busy in sponsoring new industries and expanding the existing ones under its control. Now there are practically no fresh avenues open to the public sector as per the existing industrial Policy Resolution and it appears that the expansion of qublic sector by fresh sponsorng is coming to an end. This might tempt the government to nationalise existing industries in the private sector for expanding the public sector.

Now it is a well known fact that nationalisation by itself solves nothing. What it does is to create the conditions in which changes can be made and fundamental reforms carried out.[4] The living conditions of the people in whose name nationalisation measures are carried out can be improved only when the nationalised industries are run efficiently, honestly and with a sense of dedication. If an industry or business is run inefficiently and without any sense of public well-being both before and after nationalisation, for the majority of the people it is immaterial whether such industry or business is owned by the private shareholders or by the government. On the other hand if the performance of the industry subsequent to nationalisation in terms of efficiency, honesty and dedication has declined, surely even a protagonist of nationalisation finds it very difficult to justify further nationalisation. No systematic studies have been conducted so far to prove that the performance of nationalised industry in India became worse subsequent to nationalisation as compared to its performance prior to nationalisation. But there is a feeling

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4 Kelf-Cohen, R. "Nationalisation in Britain" part IV Macmillan, 1959; also

Robson, W.A. "Nationalised Industry and Public Ownership", Chapter XVI, Allen and Unwin/London/1960.

among the public that there has been no perceptible improvement in the performance of these industries subsequent to nationalisation. This factor is contributing for the lack of enthusiasm even among the persons who would have otherwise advocated further nationalisatton. This is a factor which must be borne in mind by the people who are responsible for running the nationalised industries because the case for further nationalisation in India greatly depends on how these people run these industries.

Governments undertaking nationalisation measures on ideological and nationalistic considerations need not be apologetic for the poor performance of the nationalised industries. In these cases the policy of nationalisation is pursued as an instrument of anti–capitalist and anti–imperialist struggle. This argument cannot be made use of by the Governments which advocate the philosophy of mixed economy and build up their argument in favour of nationalisation on economic grounds. In such a situation nationalisation can be justified only when these governments demonstrate better results by managing the nationalised industries more efficiently. Otherwise the vast regulatory and fiscal powers vested in governments can as well be exercised for curbing the evils of the capitalism instead of taking over the ownership of the industries. Unfortunately on account of inefficient and loose administrative set–up it has not been possible to implement effectively the regulatory and fiscal measures to curb these evils. Very often this failure is used as a ground for advocating further nationalisation without realising the serious repurcussions of such measures on the national economy. It should be remembered that nationalisation involves assumption of greater responsibility on the part of the State, and government not possessing efficient and honest administrative set–up will find it very difficult to prove the advantages of nationalisation the link between nationalisation and economic development of the country.

The moral argument of socialism in favour of nationalisation – namely, "...that in the good society no man should be in a position to exploit his fellows by ownership of the means of production; and further, that is is better that a man should work directly for the community rather than to maximise the profits of

share-holders"[5] is also loosing much of its force on account of the rapid growth of joint stock companies in modern large scale industries within the country and the growth of multi-national enterprises all over the world. Today the trend in modern large scale industry is towards divorce between ownership and control. This factor coupled with the growth of giant Trade Union organisations accounts for lack of much enthusiasm on the part of labour for further nationalisation. Consequently the workers' support for nationalisation on theoritical grounds alone is difficult to maintain. Their support for further nationalisation can be sustained only by improving the living conditions of the workers engaged in industries that are already nationalised. This again leads us to conclude that the case for further nationalisation in India mainly depends on better performance of the existing nationalised industries, and the extent of their contribution to the national economy.

5 Shanks, M., (Ed.), "Lessons of Public Enterprise" Jonathan Cape/London/1963, p. 301.

PLAN STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF ANDHRA PRADESH

B. SATYANARAYANA,
LECTURER IN ECONOMICS.

Though Andhra Pradesh is endowed with abundant water, mineral, forest and power resources, they are not fully utilised to enrich the lives of the people. Firstly, technological revolution will have to take place in the field of agriculture, mainly through better seeds, better plant nutrients, improved water facilities, better implements, more pesticides and fertilizers. To achieve timely results, adequate credit facilities should be provided to the farmers. There is an ample scope for the development of sheep, piggery, poultry and fisheries industries, since the State is having all the requirements.

The state is fairly well-endowed with a variety of minerals but their contribution to State income has been hardly significant being about 0.60% in the total State income during 1964-65, as against 1.1% to national income in the country as a whole. A careful study reveals that neither the exploitation nor utilisation of minerals is in conformity with the available deposite in the State. Whatever the minerals that are presently mopped up are mostly in a hotch-potch manner, rather than making an attempt to tap them on a long-range and systematic way. The tempo of mineral development is much below the potential. In respect of minerals like asbestos and barytes, the potentialities have been considered very high. Mica, Coal, Iron-ore, Limestone, Copper, Lead, Chromite, Apatite, and Manganese are the other important minerals that are available in sufficient quantities.

The low level of industrial development in the State cannot be attributed to any lack of natural resources. One would only find that they are not optimally utilised for some reason or the other. At present, the agricultural commodities produced in the State are utilised by the industries mainly for primary processing and the complete chain of industries for each product is not

substantially developed. It is, therefore, necessary to follow a coordinated approach between the development plans for agriculture and agro-industries so that a comprehensive agro-industrial complex is developed in the State. Industries like sugar, oilseeds, cotton textiles, rice milling and ricebran oil, fruit-canning, tobacco industry, fish industry, tanneries, shoe-factories, forest-based industries, mineral-based industries, basic-metal and engineering industries, etc. have immense potential. Since Andhra Pradesh is agriculture-oriented, industries to produce agricultural implements in general, small and medium tractors in particular, should have a precedence over all other industries in the Fourth Plan. Likewise, mining machinery, industrial and electrical machinery producing industries should be established to diversify the State economy.

Export Potential : With a view to determine the export potential of the State, a Survey was undertaken recently by the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi. According to the Survey the total exports of Andhra Pradesh during 1965-66 were estimated to be of the order of Rs. 45 crores (in pre-devalued terms) comprising of the major commodities like tobacco, handloom products, vegetable oils and oilcakes, leathers, sugar, mica, and other mineral products. Other items such as spices, rice bran, human hair, handicrafts and engineering products are also exported from the State. The export-earnings from three commodities viz., tobacco, sugar and vegetable oils, alone was of the order of 56% in the total exports of Andhra Pradesh. The Survey excluded some of the major items and covered 42 items having real potential for further development and expansion. The Survey reveals that both the surveyed and non-surveyed items put together are, capable of earning foreign exchange of the order of Rs. 91 crores (in post-devaluation terms) by 1970-71. The factors considered for assessing the export-potential are the resource-base, the production plans of the State, national export targets and trends in world markets etc. According to the Survey the important items which could be successfully tapped to yield exports of considerable magnitude are chillies, cashew kernels, rice bran, mica, cast iron foundry products, scientific instruments, detonators, handicraft products like Bidriware, handlooms and leather.

Regional Development :

Backwardness of regions is a constant threat to national integration. The fissiparous and regional tendencies that are observed every now and then are basically rooted in economic malady and inequitable distribution of economic fruits among various regions. Balanced growth of various regions is the only permanent solution to put an end to the regional feelings, which is presently witnessed in Telengana region of the State. To achieve the ultimate goal of highstandard of living, a number of measures have to be adopted. This **raisond' etre** (rationale) is applicable not only for Andhra Pradesh, but other States too. The first step is to establish Planning Boards at the State Capitals. Similarly, Planning Cells have to be started at the district and block levels. There has to be a continuous flow of knowledge and facts from the national level to deep down to the block level. To make this programme successful, the administrators in charge of district and block planning, should be imparted the necessary knowledge of planning and its techniques. The local plans oriented towards the resources–base, should be fitted into the national plan. It is only then that we can think of achieving a rapid growth for the country as a whole.

It is in this context, one should think of starting more irrigation projects like Pochampad, etc. This would not only solve the agricultural back–wardness of the Telengana area, but provides employment to a sizable number of people. Likewise, one could think of starting fertilizer factories in Ramagundam and Kothagudem areas; based on the utilisation of the coal available from these areas. This not only solves the fertilizer problem of scarcity, but utilises the coal, for which the demand is reported to be falling from Railways, owing to dieselisation and electrification. All these factors highlight that Andhra Pradesh has a great potential for development in both agricultrual and industrial sectors.

INTRODUCING YUVABHARATHI

On youth, depends the nation's progress, even survival. To discharge this responsibility youth must be inspired by higher ideals, disciplined to the core and dedicated to the purpose. It is the creative and constructive manner of the youth's behaviour that guarantees the handing over of better values to the coming generations. Efforts have to be made to ensure the development of a composite personality, capable of serving the society constructively. It is necessary to pool like minded youth, with a determination to serve. We realise that literate people have a greater responsibility and bigger role to play. YUVABHARATHI acts to create the most needed awareness with the object of making the youth more responsible and responsive.

The seeds of war are said to be sown in the minds of men; so are the seeds of peace, the seeds of progress and the seeds of prosperity. It is always the intellectuals, a handful of people standing out from the common man, the cream of the society, that are responsible for initiating all experiments meant for achieving a better world. Intellectuals are born, but they need to be made as well. Persons with a composite outlook with a spirit of dedication, and ready to serve, are the people, who are now needed. Yuvabharathi, makes an attempt in this direction. Yuvabharathi's regular meetings are so patterned that they will inculcate in the members, the three most important qualities of clear thinking, better reading and effective speaking, which are very essential for the development of a composite personality. In short, Yuvabharathi is a training ground.

Yuvabharathi, started in 1963, intends also to promote in the people, a keen understanding, appreciation and awareness of the contribution of Telugu literature to the enrichment of our culture,

We have carried out with great success a varied programme of lectures, seminars, publications and the like, and have met with popular response.

Yuvabharathi, consists mainly of lecturers, students and employed persons. We have also a Ladies' Wing. The total membership of Yuvabharathi is about eighty.

Yuvabharathi has launched this year a special programme, entitled SAHITIMITRA with the Telugu literary lovers. We have already enrolled about 500 members and hope to enroll atleast 2,000 members in the next few months.

OUR REGULAR ACTIVITIES

Yuvabharathi is a literary and cultural organisation with a difference. It is almost like a multi-purpose project. We meet every fortnight (first and third Sundays every month) in the premises of Srikrishnadevaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam, Hyderabad. The three-hour programme includes lectures, discussions, short speeches, book discussions and reading one's own writings. The fortnightly programmes are so arranged that they will inculcate in the members the three important qualities of clear thinking, better reading and effective speaking which strengthen the roots of democracy. To provide the necessary background, we insist on critical reading of contemporary literary works. We are hopeful that a programme patterned on these lines, will enable the youth to lead fuller, richer, socially useful and more meaningful lives.

OUR PUBLICATION PROGRAMME

The high cost of publication added to the huge costs of marketing, make it virtually difficult for a literary - minded middle class individual to buy good books and maintain a personal library at his house. Yuvabharathi with its idea of collecting pre-publication donations, has short-circuited the whole process, eliminated the middle men and had succeeded in reaching the reader directly. The resultant economies are of course being passed on to the reader by making available good books at unbeliveably low prices. The experiment has been an outstanding success. Not only this, when good literature is offered at a low price, obviously more number of people can be enthused to purchase the book.

Literature must succeed in teaching tolerance, propagating propriety, imbibing culture, generating goodwill and promoting patriotism. Only then, literature can succeed in creating everlasting freshness and breathe new life in the life of a nation. Yuvabharathi intends to create the most needed right atmosphere for the proper understanding and spread of literary activities.

This is Yuvabharathi. It is difficult to describe the intangible creative activities. Our literary programmes and publications are only an enlarged projection of our dynamic effort and experiment in this direction.

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" History will record it in many pages and call Sardar Patel the builder and consolidator of the New India and say many other things about him. By many of us he will perhaps be remembered as a great captain of our forces in the struggle for freedom and as one who gave us sound advice both in times of trouble and in movements of victory, a friend and Colleague and comrade on whom one could invariably rely as a tower of strength which revived wavering hearts when we were in trouble.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

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12. Kum. Sharada
13. Kum. P. Vasantharani
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15. Kum. Bharathi
16. Kum. Seetha
17. Kum. Anjani
18. Kum. Krishnakumari

CLASSICS TO THE MASSES - KAVYALAHARI

DR. P. G. LALYE

READER IN SANSKRIT, OSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

Exactly a year ago, in the premises of Andhra Sarawatha Parishath, Hyderabad, In the radiant bit of Saraswathi, were heard the enthralling discourses on five immortal classical epics of Telugu literature. The occasion was the eigth anniversary of Yuvabharathi, a literary and cultural organisation, devoted to the cause of creating active interest for cultural values in the people. A band of sincere workers, exuberent in thought and action, had devoted all their capacities to re-creating the past. Dr. Diwakarla Venkatavadhani, Professor and Head of the Department of Telugu, Osmania University, delivered five speeches underscoring the greatness of five selected classical epics written by the "poets par Excellence of Prabandha Yuga". His talks had attracted a record audience running into thousands–a phenomenon, unprecedented in the recent history of Andhra Pradesh.

By his brilliance of expression and oppulence of citations, Dr. Avadhani created a vision of the classical age, before the audience. The unrivalled elegance and the sublime grandeur of his descriptions helped the audience rediscover the golden age of Telugu poetry. Sublimity and perspicuity are not ordinarily associated with scholarly discourses; but the two were very delightfully blended in the discourses of Dr. Avadhani.

The re-constructing of classical literature and an attempt at creating an emotional awareness of the past, has its own place in the

present age of driftings and perplexities. The 'Yuvabharathi', I think, does not aim at mere scholstic instructions. The youth may find them irksome. It is true that medieval poetry of epic conventions and the traditional codes of conduct is not having the same hold on the young mind; as it formerly had. A glympse of the past, however, may give a solace to the pensive mind, may prove a balm to the scalded emotions.

Whatever may be the times or climes, the people of clear judgement have reared certain 'values'; have felt the need of some serious purpose over and above the material pleasures, have in fact tried to frame and abide by some well–thought out norms. Our own discerning ancestors, wise and imaginative forefathers, have rendered some valuable help, by laying down certain 'VALUES'. Among the values which come as sacred legacy of the past, 'ART' is momentous. It is through artistic compositions, that the poets and thinkers of the bygone age have attempted to immortalize certain values of life. On going through those immortal treaties, one gets an aesthetic relish. Poets, like Srinatha or Ramaraja Bhushana, were great scholars of Sanskrit and have adored the Sanskrit tradition with their transcendental vision. The birds and beasts, rivers and mountains, tranquil and godly heritages, lovely and graceful women, dauntless heroes and passionless sages - have all been painted according to the traditions of India. The poets have shown the visions of beauty that shine forever. This beauty is revealed though the consummate art of building image through verses. The experience of beauty is a gliding on the wings of poesy. It is a soiourn in the celestial realms ; it is a supreme contentment of the mind (though transitory). Thus the study of classics takes us to the realm of eternal value–artistic beauty or Rasa. There lies the joy ; pure and unstinted. It is only necessary to throw open the gates of mind, allow the aroma of prabandhas enter in, and let the imprisoned darkness escape.

It was with this intention, that the series of lectures on on classical Telugu works was arranged.

The important features of classical Literature are measure, purity and temperance. Telugu classics derived their inspiration from Sanskrit Mahakavyas, which are highly ornate, grand is conception and marvellous in craftsmanship. Lytton Strachey has described

Greek Classics, in words which can be applied to Telugu classics also:

"Their works became remarkable for clarity and elegance, for a graceful simplicity for an easy strength; they were cast in the fine mould of perfect manners; majestic without pretension, expressive without emphasis, simple without carelessness and subtle without affection. "Therefore the Telugu 'Pancha Mahakavyas' are cherished as jewels by the Andhras for centuries. The Prabandha imageary with the extravagence of the poetic conceit, Sanskritised compounds, intricate metaphors and verbose style, cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the literary conventions accepted by the age. All the same, there is no doubt that the Prabandhas have an appeal which transcends the boundaries of time and place. The layman and the scholar, the young pupil and the man of mature thought, all alike,
find something in them to engage their attention.

The revival of interest in the Telugu classics among the literary minded youth of Hyderabad in recent times, is what has prompted the Yuvabharathi to arrange the Kavyalahari series of fort-nightly lectures on the panchakavyas.

1. Sringara Naishadham of Srinatha
2. Manucharitra of Allasani Peddana
3. Parijathapaharanam of Timmana
4. Vasucharitram of Bhattumurti or Ramarajabhushana
5. Vijayavilasam of Chemakura Venkatakavi

SRINGARA NAISHADHAMU OF SRINATHA:

The first lecture in the Kavyalahari series was about Sringara Naishadhamu composed by Srinatha. Incidentally this Kavya happens to be the first among the panchakavyas of Telugu.

Srinatha the author of this work (14th century) was a profound scholar and a poet of great eminence. Though Sringara Naishadham is said to be the translation of Sri Harsha's Naishadhiya charitam in Sanskrit, it can be termed more as a transcreation than translation. It is more a 'Bhavanuvada' than a 'Kathanuvada' or 'Padanuvada'. Dr. Avadhani stressed this aspect of Srinatha's poetry

and explained how it equals with and at some places even excels, the original Sanskrit Kavya in its imagery and word play.

In Sanskrit Sri Harsha's Naisdham is 'vidvadaushadham'— the elixir for the learned and Srinatha too appears to have deliberately taken the challange of presenting the same poetry with its toughness, complexity and profundity in Telugu. He has tried his utmost to transmit the whole spirit and style of the original along with the pun or double entendre wherever possible. Some of the finest passages of Telugu poetry can be found in the Nala Damayanthi Swayamvaram scenes. Srinathe's penchant for suggestion, his varied flexible and style, the liquid melodies of spoken Telugu, as also the resonant harmonies of high flown Sanskrit–make his poetry outstanding in the realm of Telugu literature. Dr. Avadhani in his elucidating lecture, did full justice to the greatness of Srinatha and his poetry.

MANUCHARITRA OF ALLASANI PEDDANA

The second lecture in the Yuvabharathi's Kavyalahari was about Peddana's Manucharitram. The story of this classic is taken from the Markendaya Purana in Sanskrit and had been rendered in Telugu by Marana earlier. Peddana with his exclusive style and workmanship has developed the theme into a prabandha, incorporating in it all the eighteen kinds of descriptions. Though it is acutally the story of the birth of Svarochisha Manu. the reader's interest centres mainly on the Varoothini–Pravara meeting in the earlier chapters. Varoothini is an embodiment of physical beauty and sensuous enjoyment and Pravara stands for traditional values and restraint next only to those of Bhishma and Suka. Both of them represent distinct and opposite values of life. Varoodthini was exciting, sensuous and captivating. Pravara was self–willed dignified sober. Dr. Avadhani in his lecture dwelt in detail on these portions of Manucharitra and at the same time discussed other technical points whether Manucharitra can be termed as a Prabandha in the strictest sense of the term and whether the unity of action has been carried throughout and so on. As regards the rasa in Manucharitra Dr. Avadhani pointed our that we find Srinagar-abhasa in Varoodhlni's love towards Pravara and Gandharva's love towards Varoodhini is one-sided and is not reciprocal. The poem concludes of course, on a note of Santa.

PARIJATHAPAHARANAM OF TIMMANA

The third lecture in the series was on Parijathapaharanam. The author of this work, Timmana, has taken the well-known Krishna theme for his poetry; but the character that shines out in this Prabandha is that of Satyabhama, the most favourite of all Krishna's consorts. Her arrogance arising out of her beauty and beauty and the coveted position she occupied among her co-wives, her temper which fascinated her lord and dynamic personality–lend a special glow to the poetry of Timmana—Dr. Avadhani pointed out that the climax of the story is in the first chapter itself, where we find the poet giving it a dramatic touch.

The fifth chapter is also worthy of being mentioned, where we find some action. There is the description of war which Krishna has to wage with Indra, to humble him Timmana's verbosity is admirable. His unerring sense of beauty, is really unsurpassed.

VASUCHARITRA BY BHATTUMURTHI

Bhattumurti was the Court poet of Ramaraja, son–in–law of Krishna Deva Raya, and was hence known as Ramarajabhushana. He was a 'Pandita Kavi' in the real sense of the term. His work Vasucharitra reveals his profound knowledge in the various services such as astrology, geology, music, metaphysics, aestheics, etymology etc. The poem is indeed a creation of intricate workmanship and it is said that it took fifteen years for the author to complete it. The basic theme of the poetry is taken from the Mahabharata, but it has been rendered more attractive as if a rough diamond has been cut, and polished, The story of king Vasu is available in Mahabharata only in about ten slokas. Bhattumurti's genius has developed it into a major Kavya. Though poor in substance, it is made rich by the wealth of apt descriptions, subtle wit, and complex suggestion.

The main theme of this Prabandha is the love and marriage between King Vasu and Girika, the product of the Union between river Suktimati and the mountain Kolahala. King Vasu is an excellent embodiment of both Vilasa and Vira. In this Kavya 'Santa' 'Roudra' are also delineated along with Sringara. The excellence of pun can be deteoted here, in every word.

VIJAYAVILASAM BY CHEMAKURA VENKATAKAVI

The last lecture delivered by Dr. Avadhani, in the series of Kavyalahari was on Vijayavilasamu.' Chemakura Venkatakavi, the

well-known author of Vijayavilasam, was a profound scholar. With his rolling compounds, sustained and intricate metaphors, metrical vivacity and verbal felicity, along with the native wit and sweetness, he has created a work which is captivating the hearts of the lovers of Telugu literature for centuries together.

The uniqueness of Vijayavilasam lies in its style. It is replete with 'chamatkaras' of various kinds. In this work, the poetic devices like 'Slesa' 'Anuprasa', which are Sanskrit-oriented in other Prabandha poets, seem to have been Telugu-oriented in the case of this poet. This chaste Telugu idiom and his creation of homely atmosphere are note-worthy.

The theme of Vijayavilasam is simple and well-known. A brief account of Arjuna in Mahabharatha, has been very beautifully narrated the poet.

Vijayavilasam is a Kavya which narrates with great dramatic skill, the stories of Uloopi, Chitragada and Subhadra. In fact there is no unity among these stories, except that, they are woven around Arjuna or Vijaya. Romantism and heroism are perfectly balanced in the character of the hero.

This is all about the five lectures in Panchakavyas. Dr. Avadhani has an admirable fluency in addition to a remarkable classical euditition. To his retentive memory which helps him to dish out hundreds of verses with nonchalant ease, he adds measured. multiflous recitation that has an indelible appeal on the minds of the listeners.

The organisers of Yuvabharathi became successful in presenting the old classical literature in very simple and beautiful manner, to the people. On the occasion of the last function, the Yuvabharathi released "Kavyalahari" a collection of these lectures in book form. They also followed the traditional custom by honouring the two scholars Sri Vanamamalai Varadacharya and Dr. Avadhani with new clothes, along with flowers and fruits. In fact the great significance of this occasion lies in the laudable action of Dr. Avadhani who offered the cash gift of Rs. 1,116/- back to Yuvabharathi as his contribution to the setting up of a nucleaus fund for the propogation of Telugu classics. A very fitting finale to the discourses on Classics !

'CHAITANYALAHARI' EFFLUX DYNAMIC

PATURI SRI RAMA SASTRY
MANAGER, RAVINDRA BHARATHI

Free India Forges Ahead. How true it is! Yuvabharathi a a literary cultural organisation sprouted in Secunderabad Eight Years back as a small sapling has grown, due to the untiring efforts of a band of literary enthusiasts, as a great Banyan tree, with nine aerial roots going into the earth that made its progress steady and solid. It started with the ideal to bring an awareness in the Telugu speaking people about the greatness of Telugu language and literature and to popularise it. As one of the Chief Guests remarked, This literary enthusiasm should not be transient but should be eternal, and Yuvabharathi should expand and assume a cosmic form like 'Vamana' and cover the entire Andhra Pradesh, every corner of it. The dynamism of Yuvabharathi may shed a part of its ebullience attain a degree of tranquility and flow smooth and wide, irrigating fresh fields with the same good purpose and vision.' It should also channelise the many new trends in writing by the youth of today, besides the traditional literature and its Men of Vision.

The dramatic success met with by the 'Kavyalahari' (Efflux Literary) series of five lectures on five most important works to Telugu literature by Dr. Diwakarla Venkatavadhani last year, has inspired the youthful literary entrepreneurs of Yuvabharathi to organise further series of five lectures "CHAITANAYALAHARI" (Efflux Dynamic) this year, on 'Men of Vision'.

They are Tikkana Somayaji, Palkuriki Somanadha, Krishnadevaraya, Vemana and Gurazada. Each one of them is a dynamic stream of literary effulgence that constitute the 'Chaitanya Lahari'

(Dfflux Dynamic). Yuva Bhatati has shown great Vision in their selection of past personalities, maintaining a chronological sequence. In this they were obviously prompted by intuition in perceiving a oneness of thought in all of them – to bring the native Telugu idiom to the forefront with a sincerity consistent with their respective times.

Equally well, they have chosen five eminent literary personalities of the present period to speak on the 'Men of Vision'.

Dr. Diwakarla Venkatavadhani on TIKKANA SOMMAYAJI (11th Century)—The Sanskrit of the Vedas became archaic and one morn Vyasa, the Vyasa of Mahabharata has produced the quintessence of Vedas into the Sanskrit classic. The Telugu Literary Trinity has translated this into Telugu. Tikkana Somayaji, was the first 'Man of Vision'. He followed closely on the heels of the first Ttlugu poet Nannaya and bore most of the brunt by freely rendering into Telugu 15 of the 18 Parvas (Cantoes) delicately following the inner trend of the massive narrative in Sanskrit.

Sri Gadiyaram Ramakrishna on PALKURIKI SOMANADHA (13th Century)— Palkuriki Somanadha has blended the 'Marga' (orthodox) and 'Dasi' (contemporary) styles of writing, while Tikkana's was mostly in the 'Marga' style. He was such a great veerashaivite that a Kannada poet wrote a 'Somanadha Purana' on Palakuriki Somanadha.

Sri Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu on SRIKRISHNA DEVA-RAYA (16th Century)—Srikrishna Devaraya and his 'Bhuvana Vijayam' famed for its literary discussions with the 'ashta diggajas', eight stalwarts of Telugu Literature at court, were milestones in the progress of Telugu Literature. He was a Telugu King, wrote in Telugu and reigned supreme in land and literature for the advancement of Telugu and Telugus under the benign shades of his Royal Patronage.

Sri Marupuri Kodandarama Reddy on VEMANA (17th Century) Vemana was a 'Panta Kapu' (peasant) who did not have any orthodox education but learnt his lessons from the common populace. Born rich, he had all the vices and virtues of affluence, yet denounced everything including women and gold to become a saint to educate the man in the street in good living, with an innate poesy imbibing native idiom.

Dr. Kothapalli Veerabhadra Rao on GURAZADA (19th Century) - Gurazada, to whom writing in the spoken dialect was a religion breaking the shackles of literary dialect, was a great visionary of modern times. He was the subject of the grand finale in the series - Efflux Dynamic - on Men of Vision. At a time when language was the slave of tradition, writing dengenerated and lost its splendour and when creative literature lost its taste, Gurazada came in to make a brilliant blend of the past and the present.

Streams of humanity - young and old - boys, girls, men and women with baskets containing feeding bottles in one hand and babies in arms in the other and orthodox Hindu widows in their white, were flowing into the premises of Andhra Saraswatha Parishath to have their purgatory bath in the literary 'Efflux Dynamic' and listened to the series of five lectures on 'Men of Vision' with rapt attention.

The concourses were over flowing the two thousand and odd seats provided by the organisers and swelled to nearly a three thousand strong for four consecutive Sundays of the series. The vastness of the audience invoked nostalgic reminiscences of Machilipatnam where people in huge numbers used to gather and iisten to the famous poet CHELLAPILLA VENKATA SASTRY. As a matter of fact, one of the speakers wittily remarked that he was afraid of speaking to such a huge audience which is most uncommon in literary meetings. On the fifth Sunday when Gurazada was the star attraction, it was a veritable sea of humanity (4 to 5 thousand strong) and the waves were hitting against the walls of the open enclosure of the Andhra Saraswatha Parishath premises, gushing in, through the straits (gate ways). It shows the confidence the public reposed in YUVA BHARATHI in organising a series of lectures to popularise the intricacies of Telugu Literature and the 'Men of Vision'. The confidence was not gained in a day. Behind it lay 8 years of hard work by the young and enthusiatic band of literary workers who spared no pains to bring literature closer to the common man and at the end of each series made available, the contents of the lectures at a cheap-publication price and at a resonable rate later on.

Punctuality, a good legacy left over by the British Rulers, is often forgotten, more so in the matter of literary meetings. The

clock strikes half past five and simultaneously a voice from 'Yuva Bharathi' booms across the loud-speakers.

"The time is half past five and today's meeting starts......... presided over by.........and the lecture on.........Men of Vision by with.........as the Chief Guest starts. We request them to go over to the dias."

That's punctuality with which the series of Lectures on Men of Vision "Chaitanya Lahari" (Efflux Dynamic) were conducted. Kudos to 'Yuva Bharathi' for their punctuality, worth emulating by any organisation.

TIKKANA - THE AMBIDEXTROUS

The language of the Vedas became archaic and one more Vyasa, the Vyasa of Maha Bharata, has produced the quintessence of Vedas into the Sanskrit classic Maha Bharata. He wrote the Maha Bharata, in order to interpret the principles of righteousness, noble living and observance of equality and fraternity for social justice and so it has come to be the fifth Veda. And the Telugu Literary Trinity, Nannaya, Tikkana and Yerrapragada translated it into Telugu.

Tikkana was very proud of his grand-father Bhasakara Mantri. He produced a Ramayana and being his grandson, wrote post-coronation Ramayana "Nirvachanottara Ramayana" in pure verse. The predominant 'rasa' in Uttara Ramayana is 'karuna' or the pathos. Tikkana Somayaji, dedicated this work to his king on his requset.

Maha Bharata accepts the doctrines of the Vedas and more particularly the Varnasrama Dharmas which is the forgotten socialistic pattern of society and has frozen into the casteism after millineums.

Tikkana was equally proficient in literary forms of Sanskrit and Telugu. But he did not choose a single word, in all his 15 parvas that is not understood by the then commoner. Tikkana very, proudly says that "I do not use Sanskrit that has not acquired nativity with Telugu. I do not resort to rhetoric that is not native even if it is very pleasant to the ear. I only use such words either from Sanskrit or Telugu that contribute to the aesthetic appreciation and enjoyment of the average individual than for mere indulgence in pedagogy.

It was in the 11th century that furious squabbles and some times fights were recurrent in the rivalry between the Veerashaiva and Veeravaishnava cults. After all God is one, and Tikkana Somayaji was inspired by the idea of Hariharanatha, which is composite image of Shiva and Vishnu and started writing his Maha Bharata. The luminosity of Hariharanatha is reminiscent of the halo that engulfs the confluence of the mighty rivers Ganga and Jamuna. The Lord desired that this literary masterpiece be dedicated to him. Overjoyed at the behest Tikkana dedicated it to Hariharanatha, with the ultimate aim of attaining salvation.

It is more correct to say that Tikkana 'wrote' Maha Bharata than 'translated' it for he has dropped out episodes which were too lengthy and made passing references to them. For instance, the famous Bhagavat Gita which has 700 stanzas has been abridged into 40 in his work.

Viswarupa, the revelation of the universal manifestation of Lord, has been elaborated in the Telugu Maha Bharata.

Kichaka was the self-conscious commander-in-chief of Virat, yet he implored Sairandhri (Daoupadi) to court love with him. Kichaka yearned for a reciprocity in love while making approaches to Sairandhri. "I am in so much love with you that Cupid will ultimately kill me and you will never find a man like me to love."

A fierce noisy fight was described by Vyasa between Bhima and Kichaka. The fight was in the night, and propriety demanded that there should be no noise. So Tikkana in his Telugu version described a dangerous yet noiseless fight between the two, which ended in the killing of Kichaka.

Suggestivism is the keystone of the main arch of Telugu Maha Bharata. When young Uttara requested Brihannala to bring back the turban cloths of the warriors of the Kaurava army slain by her brother Uttarakumara, Brihannala very tactfully replies "if your brother conquers the Kauravas, I shall certainly bring you the cloth from the head–gear of the slain enemy", suggesting that Uttarakumara is not capable of it.

Dhrutarashtra asked Sanjaya, "after all, what is Pandava's force as against our 18 Brigades ?" and tactfully Sanjaya answers

"Bhima will be brought in by Yudhishtira". That is the suggestivism of Tikkana.

The descriptives created by Tikkana posess a magnigicant psychological approach with a clear picture of mental metomorphosis, be it in love, anger or war.

Tikkana adapts a different technique from Sanskrit in revealing the identities of Pandavas at the end of the incognito period at Virata's court. Arjuna names all his brothers but him and finally Bhima says that Brihannala is Arjuna. Whereas in Sanskrit it is a direct hit and Arjuna declares himself so.

Exaggeration is certainly, a figure of speech that has been very effectively deployed by Tikkana while describing the Rajasuya of yudhishtira. The slush created by the elephants was hardened by the dust of gold from the ornaments of the visiting kings–is a marvellous figure of speech.

Nannaya's part of Maha Bharata is pleasant like a static sculpture, Whereas Tikkana's rendering is facile, virile and provides picturesquely changing patterns as in nature and in modern parlance 'Cinematic'.

Most of the discourse is centered round Virata and Udyoga Parvas and Yuddha Parva was touched on the fringe. The common literary enthusiast felt that he has not been sufficiently enlightened about the rest of the Parvas of Maha Bharata.

PALKURIKI–THE REBEL

Palkuriki Somanadha gave the essence of the four vedas in his Basavapurana.

Palkuriki is the name of the village to which Somanadha belonged and is his surname. The village Palkuriki later on come to be known as Palkuriki and is in the Jangaon Taluq of the present Warangal District.

The time in which Palkuriki Somanadha lived, attributed by scholars, is during the reign of Prataparudra the king of Warangal (1290–1323.)

As time advanced, he became rich and ripe with inspiration of Veerashaiva cult that he has given up mentioning his natural lineage and has adapted the lineage of his Guru (Preceptor) and devotionalism and became a fanatic, ridiculing other cults. He openly described the brahmanistic culture and rituals and he rediculed the brahmin as the mule that only carried the load of vedic scriptures and does not have an insight into the real concept of what is ordained or described therein. This enraged the orthodox ritualist fanatics who manouvered to insult him by taking out a procession with orthodox brahmins wearing an onion round their neck instead of the traditional Linga which the Veerashaivite wears around his neck. Somanatha was equally fanatic and even the bulls that drove his vehicle bore the stamp of Shiva. May be in its exaggeration, it is reported that the bulls refused to cross the Gajalakshmi statute on the way and the onions worn in ridicule by the so called orthodox brahmins were converted into the traditional Lingas. Instantaneously all of them became the devotees of Shiva abandoning their 'advaita'.

The ideal with which Somanadha has treated the literature is mainly with the propagandist aspect of Veerashaiva cult. This did not vitiate the literary prominence or excellence of his works. 'Marga', the orthodox and 'Desi' the contemporary, were the styles in the literal trends of his times. Somanadha was attracted by the success of Jaina and Budhistic scriptures that were being understood by the common men of the region and so he started his propaganda in the Dwipada (couplet) style in native Telugu.

What Nannechoda could not achieve in adapting the Marga and Desi styles, Somanadha did in his writings. He says "I write in a Telugu that is understood by my people and do not advocate usage of difficult and remote Sanskrit or Telugu word and I use 'Janu Tenugu' only." Thus he has aptly earned the title Desikavitha Sanatha".

Somanadha chose the Dwipada style which is predominent with alliteration for his Basava Purana. Later Srinadha also adapted the same prosody of Dwipada to write 'Palnati Veera Charitra'. He has adopted 'Tribhangi' a rare form in prosody in another work. Ragada, a special individualistic form of prosody was also adapted by Somanadha. 'The Panditaraduya Charitra' was written by him at mature age and bears a more suitable mental approach towards

Shaivisim. It has, however, revolutionary stance. He was also a master of languages and has composed many lines in different languages.

Among the Shaivites there is a distinction between Aradhyas, and Jangamas. Those that were Aradhyas wore the sacred thread along with the Linga while the Jangamas wore the sacred Linga alone. The difference between the two is that the Aradhya sought the divine path through knowledge and the Basava (Jangama) cult saw the divine path through Bhakti or devotion. He was inspired, obviously, by the latter and became a Jangama.

Somanadha is one whose pen senses the beauty of the language and the structure of words is ebullient with logic before it scribes.

Somanadha did not denounce the vedic teachings, yet he was a revolutionary who swept the cobwebs that stuck in the minds of the so called sophisticated brahmins and laid stress on the moral structure rather than ritual. Thus he has resurrected the sophisticated ingnoramuses from the grave of cast prejudices.

His religious prejudice bore an indictment of other religious trends and is obviously the greatest impediment in his being accepted as a pure literary genius, which again, is a biased outlook and did not stand Somanadha in the stead which he richly deserves.

KRISHNADEVARAYA - THE PATRON POET

South Indian Culture would not have survived the onslaught of external influence but for the benevolent protection of Vijayanagar Kings. Their dynasties Sangama, Salua, Tulu and Araviti – were respectively Veerashaivas, Advaitis, Vaishnavas and Madhwas. But for the existence of the Vijayanagar Empire for over 350 years, Telugu Literature would not have had the glory it enjoys today.

What Prabandha Devaraya is to Kannada, Krishnadevaraya is to Telugu. Telugu Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit enjoyed his patronage and of course Telugu had a lions share. Even though Krishnadevaraya ruled hardly for three decades, his literary influence reigned supreme for three centuries.

In Krishnadevaraya, intuition was clearly discernable and impressed the onlooker about the depths into which he could probe.

It is unfortunate that a Sanskrit work accredited to Krishnadevarayâ 'Satyavadhupreenanam is not available to us and is lost in the efflux of time. He carried on literary discussions even in his war camps and his entourage besides the various arms of war had his literary geniuses with him. In one of his war camps he requested the court poet Peddana to write a poem for the enjoyment of his court. Peddana replied in a brillliant verse describing the prerequisites of a poetic imagery and expressed his disinclination to write one. Krishnadevarya took the denial with great equanimity. It could be clearly seen that the usual arrogance and authority of kings was under his absolute control.

He had a dynamic impulse to promote and appreciate literary genius irrespective of the religious cult to which the poet belonged; for he had both 'Shaivities' and 'Vishnavites' among the 'ashta diggajas', his eight court poets. He praised in uncompromising terms the poetic melody in the works of Dhurjati, a Shaivite. He was the king to proclaim that "Telugu ranks top most among all the languages of the land." The greateness of Telugu lies in its vowel-ending words as in Italian and is eminently suited for setting to music. He wrote in Telugu, cause writing in Telugu, extending his royal patronage. He defined literature as an extended lyrical interpretation of life. He wrote for the commoner and in a language common in his times.

In his great Telugu literary work, Amukta Malyada, the description of Shri Villiputtoor, he interprets 'prakriti' and 'purusha'. The influence of 'purusha' over 'prakriti' could be clearly understood from the descriptive passage on Shri Villiputtoor while the influence of 'prakriti over purusha' be understood from his description of Madhurai.

Krishnadevaraya believed that the excellence of a literary work could only be determined in literary discussions and mostly help the author to mould his work to have everlasting values. This was the doctrine with which Krishnadevaraya approached literature.

South Indian culture has survived the onslaught of external influences due to the benevolent protection of the Vijayanagar Kings. But for the existence of the Vijayanagar empire for over

350 years Telugu Literature would not had the glory which it enjoys today.

Poetic imageries have been created by great poets in other languages too. For instance, in 'Manipravala Sandesa' of Malayalam, the poet visualises the Sun and Moon as cymbals, that mark time, in the dance of dame twilight, while a commoner would have only described the setting Sun and rising Moon or vice-versa, seen simultaneously at Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) as a delightful spectacle.

Krishnadevaraya's great Telugu work, 'Amukta Malyada' is about the devotional life of Vishnuchitta who is otherwise known as 'Peria Alwar' (great devotee). He lived at Shri Villiputtoor and enjoyed the partronage of the Madurai kings who were originally Shaivites and later became Vaishnavites.

Vishnuchitta gave the hand of his daughter Goda in marriage to Lord Vishnu, thus acquiring the right to bless the Lord himself, on account of the legally acquired fatherhood (father-in-law).

The word 'Kothai' in Tamil, is refined as Goda into Telugu, meaning a woman or a floral garland. The Tiruppavai of Goda has only 40 'pasurams'. Yet it has acquired universal popularity on account of the devotional content it has. "We are proceeding to see Lord Gopala, so you too perform your ablusions, open the doors and follow us into light for looking at the Lord." This invitation is the form and content of Tiruppavai.

Unless the Dravidian culture and languages are understood atleast in a general way it is difficult to fully appreciate the brilliance with which Amukta Malyada is written. The descriptive narratives in Amukta Malyada cannot be surpassed and it is difficult to find a parallel either in Telugu literature or other contemporary writings. Be it about Madurai, Sri Villiputtoor or Srirangam, the pattern is intricately woven with a brilliance, that is Krishnadevaraya's.

It is very interesting to note that there was a Vidvajjana Kolahala (Tumulatuous Literature) in the Court of the Madurai Kings who was collecting penal annuities from all the other poets or scholars in the State who could not subdue him. It was left to Yamunacharya to subdue him. He a challenged Yamunacharya that he would contradict any statement made by him. Yamunacharya

accepted the challenge and made three statements: (i) your mother is not barren; (ii) the King is a 'Dharmatma' and (iii) the Queen is chaste. It was very uncomfortable and embarassing for the Court poet to contradict these statements, and as per the custom of the day, the acceptor who makes the statements has to contradict them. So Yamuna said "(i) you are the only son to your mother, and according to the 'sastras' having an only son tantamounts to barrenness. So she is deemed to be barren. (ii) The King is not a 'Dharmatma' since he acquires the sins of his people, as it is 'Kaliyuga' where Dharma has only a quarter share. So he cannot rule strictly according to Dharma and hence he is not a Dharmatma. (iii) The Queen is not chaste for she is the wife of the King who has the eight aspects of the ruler of the Universe in him. Therefore, he is not a singular man but a composite one and hence the queen is deemed to have married all the eight rules of the Universe in the form of the present King. So she is not chaste, in the purest sense. This was the logic with which has won over Vidvajjana Kolahaia and acquired half the Kingdom of the Madurai Kings.

This incident has been treated in a different way by Krishnadevaraya. He did not merely tell the story in a factual way but embellished it with literary excellence which unravels his enthusing erudition and vision.

Krishnadevaraya had a thorough and complete understanding of Shri Bhasya of Ramanuja and other literary works of various Alwars (Vaishnavite devotees). He belonged obviously to the 'Vadagala' sect of Vaishnavas to whom, the Vedas have precedence over the Vaishnava Prabandhas. Among the various Vaishnavite shrines it is only in Vishnukanchi (Kanchipuram) that Prabandhas are recited first and Vedas later and in all other Vaishnavite shrines the Vedas precede the Prabandhas.

Thus, the many faceted work of the Telugu King Krishnadevaraya stands out among the Telugu works. The vision with which Krishnadevaraya wielded the pen and the sword has contributed immeasurebly to the excellence of Telugus and Telugu Literature.

VEMANA—THE RATIONALIST

Vemana's birth place is regarded as Moogachintalapalli, a village in Chandragiri Taluk of Chittoor District.

It is nearly 300 years since Vemana was born and it is one of the Nandana's of the 60 years cycle. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India will be releasing a postal stamp in commemoration of Vemana's Tricentenary during October, 1972.

There is hardly any Telugu Literatuer or for the matter of that even an illiterate, who does not know the burden of his verses "VISHWADABHIRAMA VINURAVEMA". They are equally ignorant of the full comprehensive concept of the burden. Also there is hardly any scholar who could interpret it. There have been various concepts on the diction of the burden but none of them answers correctly to it.

Vemana had all the virtues and vices of rich legacy. He passed through various phases of life, and mental metamorphosis and ultimately became a 'Yogi' or a saint. It is often true that people take to debauchery having an insatiable urge for sex, as also due to other reasons. May be his wife was turmagant! He spent lavishly on women which ultimately reduced him to penuary. It was, probably, at this stage that he was after the 'Yogis' who had the powers to produce synthetic gold from baser metals.

Poesy must be inborn but cannot be acquired. He was a poet by nature and used the vehicular prosody of "Ataveladi". The word literally means a woman that dances. With this vehicle and simple, lucid, native Telugu, he unravelled the mysteries of Hindu religion, some times ridiculed its customs that became fossils and had no sensible existence. He did not put this crudely but with a sense of humour as an undercurrent in his verses.

He created almost an intellectual revolution by probing into the secrets of Vedas and interpreting them to the common man. The essence of Indian Philosophy is conveyed to the commner in a language that could not be simpler and forthright. In the philosophical interpretation and exposition of the essence of Hindu philosophy in a language that is understood equally by the scholar and the layman, he is superior to the Alwars of Vaishnavism and Nayanars of Shaivism. With a simple language he hit his target straight.

The vehicle of his expression 'Ataveladi' is explicit and is incapable of being intepreted differently. He made her dance to

his tune in interpreting different religious syllogisms. The verses of Vemana have spread far and wide and reached palaces, houses and permeated into every inch of the Telugu land like the air we breathe. He sent his 'Ataveladi' into every home, or rather his 'Ataveladi' reached every heart and home.

The language he commissioned was simple and direct with a rhyme that is unparalleled and a meaning that is crystal clear and straight.

"Modata Somayaji
pidapa Kaamayaaji"

(Initially he performed a ritual to propiticate the heavenly angles and later he performed the ritual to please his sex angel. This translation does not probably convey all the sweetness and rythm of the simple, straight language employed by Vemana.)

There may be greater scholars with greater poetic eminence and descriptive ability but all of them wrote in a Sanskritised Telugu or Teluguised Sanskrit. But Vemana is the only one who wrote in a Telugu for the man in the street. He was the first advocate, that deployed native Telugu as the language of his verse. So, it is not an exaggeration to say, or far from truth, that Vemana is the first advocate of the language of the peasant and wrote in it. Centuries later, however, Gurazada wrote for the man in the street.

In an intellectual, be it in different countries or languages comtemporary thought is always paramount. Vemana, who was born in sylvanic surroundings and of rustic parentage though rich, has produced thoughts similar to those of the great Greek Philosopher Socrates. He showed light to the populace who were groping under the malevolent influence of the "Pithas" or seats of religion, which were in reality business houses of religion.

He was a revolutionary and revolted vehimently against psuedoworship and told the people to find God within themselves with the omniscience, omnipotence, omnivalence and omnipresence that is His.

Vemana, for some reasons has not acquired the eminence that is due to him. Probably he was ignored, not wantonly, because he wrote in an uninhibited language of the spoken dialect.

He believed in the rational interpretation of the customs and sects and could be deemed to be the first rationalist who unravelled the mysteries of religion in ingenous Telugu and gave it to the man of the soil.

He was a villager, wrote for the villager, lived for the vlllager and ultimately denounced every thing inclnding women and synthetic gold to become a saint. The testimony to any piece of good literature if given by time and if he has lived for 300 years and over, he would live till the Telugu Language lasts.

GURAZADA-THE HUMANIST

The period when Gurazada was born, grew up and attained a stature, was a significant era in our country. Intellectuals that moulded society were influenced by contact with Westerners and brought in many a change in society. Gurazada was also subject to the influence of the west and acquired extensive knowledge by reading famous English and other Western writers. On account of his close asscciation and personal contact with Maharaja Ananda Gajapathi of Vizianagaram, he had the advantage of deriving the benefits of experience of his patron, directly or indirectly and this set a new pace to his literary genius. In his own words, he achieved a brilliant blend of the old and new.

It is no exaggeration and certainly not audacity to say that Gidugu (Ramamurti Pantulu) and Gurazada (Appa Rao) were a unique successful pair that revoluted Telugu Language and became champions of the spoken dialect. In Gurazada's exploration of the spoken word, drama, verse, essay and short story have acquired a new vigour and dimension. The untouchable spoken dialect has attained a glorious status at his hands and the man–in–the–street has acquired a platform to ventilate his views.

The humanism in his personality and the universonality of his works inspired many to write on Gurazada and his works, some of them were translations of his Telugu originals not only Indian Languages like Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Hindi and Bengali but also in foreign languages like Russian and English.

His writings were neither circumscribed by patriotism nor paroachialism but were inspired by a universal humanism ; albeit he

loved the Telugu race and Telugu language and write in Telugu for the Telugus.

Gurazada Appa Rao is a poet of poets, a great poet and a universal poet – is the praise by critics later on who did not accept him as a poet at one time. Even those, who accepted him as a great dramatist, were reluctant to concede that he was a great poet. To those ever – reluctant conservatives, oblivious to the greatness of his poetry, his song on 'Desa Bhakti' (Patroitism) is just the answer. The couplet 'Desamante Matti Kadoi–Desamante Manushuloi', (It is not earth that makes a nation but men), makes him great among the world–class of poets. His advent enlivened the lustreless unimaginative free–lance writing and gave to the Telugu public a happy blend of the old and new and threw an insplring effulgence on writing in the spoken dialect.

It is quite an undeniable fact that Englishmen and English Literature threw a new light and opened up new pastures and changed the outlook of Indian writers. Gurazada wrote first in English. But being a man of genius, endowed with a sense of propriety, he was quick to apprceive that his destination lay in Telugu and that too in the spoken dialect. He wrote in that unfettered language and style which brought him close to the man–in–the–street.

It is best to quote him–"while the vernacular is thus gaining recognition the literary dialect in best modern prose which is manifest with great freedom of usage".

"I view literary dialect as a great disability imposed by tradition upon the Telugus. Let those who love fetters venerate it. My own vernacular for me, the living Telugu, the Italian of the East in which none of us is ashamed to express our joys and sorrows, but some of us are ashamed to write well. Literature in vernacular will knock at the door of the peasant and in India. Its possibijities are immense".

........No argument in favour of a vernacular literature is needed with persons who are conversant with the history of English Dialects and Prakrits, and I know that it is not arguments that will evolve a new literary dialect for Telugu. A great writer must write and make it. Let us prepare the ground for him."

These words show up the conviction and confidence he had in his mission–the development of the spoken dialect as a literary medium. Today we know and acknowledge Gurazada was a great writer. His vision made him intutively predict that THE great writer was himself.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu and Gurazada Appa Rao were contemporaries. Both were writers and social reform was foremost and literary exposition next. To Gurazada giving the spoken dialect a literary eminence was primary and social reform was the fringe benefit.

Balance and equanimity mark his poetry. His is not the ebullient brook that jumps a precipice, splashes on the rocky bed and walks away but is one where his anguish is unravelled with composure and dignity that tickles an intellectual. This is probably why Gurazada is considered more a dramatist than a poet. There is a universality and freshness in his plays 'Kanyasulkam' and 'Kondubhattiyam', If these two plays have a popular appeal and entertain the audience even today when the problems tackled therein have become obsolete, it speaks volumes about the cosomopolitanism and universality of the nature of the characters in these plays.

It is exactly for this reason that Sudraka's 'Mricchakatika' has a universal appeal. While the characters created by Kalidasa pertain to India and live therein; their psychological make-up is universal. But Sudraka's characters exist here, there and any where and are universal. This is where Gurazada approximates to Sudraka in universality with his plays.

Universality is the test of brilliant work and the 'magnum opus' of his, the Play 'Kanya Sulkam' (Bride's Price) answers this universality In abundance for you can always find a passage or a dialogue to aptly suit almost any situation in day to day life.

Appa Rao has chisled out the short story with a distinctive expertness. There may be his predecessors who wrote the short story but, surely, did dot attract the attention of the reader from the start. Composure is his foundation and he moulded the short story to match any international one.

A literary critique should provide food for thought. That is the ideal of Gurazada, He strove, to break the shackles of narrow

outlook and to widen the vision of intellectual appreciation In his essay humour, message, merits and demerits of a problem, find a happy blend and enliven the head and heart of the reader.

Once an English lady witnessed a Shakespeare's play and remarked "They told me that Shakespeare was a great poet and so I come for the Play and I am disillusioned. I know all the words, roles and incidents", unable to visualise the realistic approach 'so close to life. This is how a master mind approaches realism and the lady unwittingly gave us the yard stick to estimate realism. Gurazda withstands this test and stands like a colossus before us.

Gurazada is visionary and an intellectual with a strong urge for progress in him. His outlook, be it in drama, essay or poetry, is only to eradicate the evils perpetrated in the name of religion, orthodoxy and custom. He blended good tradition with modernity and so we read him, appreciate him and adore him. He was born in the nineteenth century and lived for a decade and a half in the twentieth century. He has almost achieved his ideals and did all that for attaining the stature that is his today, before the begining of the twentieth century. It was only for Gurazada to achieve a happy blend of old and new and to live in living memory for all time.

*

" If Indian Society is to make real progress along peaceful lines, there must be a definite recognition on the part of the moneyed class that the ryot possesses the some soul that they do and their wealth gives them no superiority over the power. They must regard themselves as trustees working their wealth for the good of their words, the ryots.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

SAHITIMITRA

Sahitimitra programme is an attempt to enlist the co-operation of literary minded friends who wholly agree with the programmes of Yuvabharathi and are willing to actively participate and assist the programmes planned.

The success of our Seminar on 'Changing Values and Writers' Responsibilities, has ushered in a new chapter in the life of Yuvabharathi. The success of Kavyalahari lecture series, lay not only in terms of thousands of persons attending the meetings but also in printing a record rumber of 11,500 copies as the first edition and offering it at an incredibly low pre-publication donation of Rs. 2/–. The 1972 programmes, mainly Chaitanyalahari and Mahathi, have given us a feeling that there are people who are willing to stand by Yuvabharathi and contribute their mite to the intended revolution in the literary field.

Yuvabharathi has succeeded in its experiment of printing large number of copies and offer them at a low pre-publication rate. We feel that by keeping the price of a good book at a low level it would attract many buyers. Half the battle is won when the good book is bought by the reader. We are sure that consistent contact with good books and persistent good reading will ensure the development of the most needed composite personality. Sahitimitra, as a programme, intends to involve such young men and women who are eager to join hands with Yuvabharathi, in its dedicated endeavour, to serve the cause of Telugu literature and culture.

This programme envisages enrolment of persons at a nominal fee of Rs. 5/–, Yuvabharathi's 1973 special publication

under this programme will be given free of cost. Besides various advantages like the Privilege to buy Yuvabharathi publications at a 25 percent discount are promised. More than all these, it is an expression of confidence and support and it is an evpression of understanding and unity.

Sahitimitra serves the purpose of ensuring a regular and continuous contact between the association and the literary lovers.

Yuvabharathi extends its hands of literary friendship and expects atleast 2,000 active members to be enrolled in the next few months.

If a reading of this could convince you, please do write to us for details regarding the Sahitimitra programme.

OUR PUBLICATIONS

	TELUGU	Rs. Ps.
*1.	SARASWATHI SAKSHATKARAMU (Poetry anthology) Anumula Krishna Murty	2–00
*2.	JEEVANA GEETA (Telugu rendering of Khalil Zibran's 'The Propet') Kaloji Narayana Rao	2–50
*3.	VEECHIKALU (An anthology of Free Verse)	2–00
4.	PANCHAVATI (A collection of stories) Avasarala Ramakrishna Rao, Manju Sree, Seela Veerraju, Lata, C. Anandaramam	2–00
*5.	RACHANA (A collection of essays of 37 eminent writers – Seminar on the changing Values – Writers' Responsibilities)	5–00
6.	KAVYALAHARI (Lectures on five Telugu Kavyas) Professor Diwakarla Venkatavadhani	5–00
*7	AKSHARALU (A collection of Free Verse)	2–00
8.	CHAITANYALAHARI (Lectures on five Literary Personalities – Tikkana, Palkuriki, Krishnadevaraya, Vemana and Guruzada)	6–00
9.	MAHATHI (A collection of 101 essays surveying the Telugu language, culture and literature in Independent India)	20–00
	ENGLISH	
10.	FREE INDIA FORGES AHEAD (A collection of 33 essays, portraying the independent India)	10.00

* **Out of Stock**

INTRODUCING OUR PUBLICATIONS

"A drop of ink makes millions think". Wisdom of the ages could be preserved, inherited, improved and passed on to the coming generations through the medium of writing. Giving a proper and written form to the idea, constitutes an achievement, in itself. No useful purpose will be served if attempts are not made to preserve the wealth of wisdom and pass it on. Publication is one such activity.

During the nine years of our existence, we have already published nine books in Telugu of considerable literary merit. The tenth one in English entitled "Free India forges Ahead" is in your hands now. As we are introducing our Yuvabharathi for the first time to the English knowing public, we feel it our duty and privilege to introduce our publications briefly in their chronological order.

1. SARASWATHI SAKSHATKARAMU

Rich in content and highly poetic in context, this volume contains the raptures of a poet on realising the 'muse'.

Saraswathi, Goddess of Learning, reveals herself before the poet, and the poet runs into raptures of ecstasy, explaining the experience as he beholds the sight of the Goddess of Knowledge and Learning. He succeeds in making a thorough blend of both the traditional and modern 'metre'. He does not hesitate to occasionally fall back upon the local 'idiom'. Coming as it does, from the bottom layers of the heart, it appears straight to the mind of the reader. With thorough mastery over the language and expressions, the poet succeeds in making a composition of the choicest selection of words and ideas, regardless of the aspect he is covering.

2. JEEVANA GEETA

Khalil Zibran and his writings are well known all over the world. His single book "The Prophet", as per the reports published in "The Times" magazine (dated 13th August 1965) has sold out more than 2 million copies and the weekly sales are of the order of 5,000. Khalil Zibran, the poet, humanist, philosopher and man of vision, is known to the lovers of world literature.

Khalil Zibran was unknown to the Telugu people. Yuvabharathi took up the task of introducing Khalil Zibran by undertaking to publish a Telugu rendering of his mystic poetry, contained in the book, "The Prophet". The translator, Sri Kaloji Narayana Rao, known for his simple, frank and outspoken style has succeeded in bringing Khalil Zibran near to the hearts of Telugu readers. This book has won the best translation award of the A.P. State Government for that year.

The book is virtually a dialogue between a master and commoner on the scores of topics ranging from love to literature, poetry to politics, buildings to beauty manners to matters of material world.

3. VEECHIKALU

Veechikalu contains a poetic profile of a variety of subjects. It introduces four writers, young, both in age and spirit, with a fresh look at the problems of man and his life.

Iriventi Krishnamoorthy with his characteristic satire succeeds in sympathetically portraying the Telugu writer. The other topics selected are: "Light", "You cannot behold" etc.

Chakravarthy Venugopal attempts at making a psycho-analysis of man and his problems. The topics selected, range from "What shall I write" to "The Duty", "Problems of a writer", civilisation and "Soliloquy".

A. Venkatrao critically apprises the Almighty with the problems of the common man and attempts to "awake" him, so that he may realise the pitiable situation into which his creation has lapsed. With themes like "Tears that were shed by the pen". "Pessimist", "What shall I write", he succeeds in portraying the thoughts agoriging in the minds of the young.

V. Viswanadham, with an eye that watches the nature, catches its changing moods, captures the beauty of the dropping drops of rain right from the time they leave the cloud to the time they reach the thousand and odd possible places on the mother earth. He almost travels along with the rain drop, straight into the deep layers of the sand.

4. PANCHAVATI

Presented in this beautifully produced book, are five noted writers of that powerful medium, the short story. The approach is diverse but there is one. It is man and his moods. The writers are:

1. Avasarala Ramakrishna Rao
2. Manjusri
3. Seela Veerraju
4. Lata
5. C. Anandaramam.

5. RACHANA

Rachana is a collection of 37 essays read and dlscussed at a Seminar on "Changing Values and Writers' Responsibilities". It has been rightly hailed as a publication-event; for here is an attempt to gather the summing-up of the impressions of experiences of scholars, poets, critics and journalists on writers, their responsibilities and responses in the context of the fast changing society and its values.

Review in 'Bharathi' a Telugu literary monthly, October, 1970

"Here is an anthology of essays on a theme of great significance in the present context of changing values, written by men of literary eminence which should be read by all lovers of literature. While it is true that the reading of this anthology enriches the mind of the reader, it can certainly be claimed that a failure to do so leaves a regrettable void in one's reading".

Yuvabharathi deserves high compliments for publishing this anthology with its attractive get-up and reasonable price".

Review in "The Indian Express", dated 18-9-1970

Here is a book which throws a flood of light on the trends in contemporary Telugu journalism..............the entire discussion

provider the reader with a rich fare of ideas and ideals and ideals operating in the writers' minds.........the printing and get-up are extremely pleasing.

Yuvabharathi should continue to serve Telugu literature with more such publications.

6. KAVYALAHARI

During its more than 1,000 years of existence Telugu literature has thrown up many gems of rare brilliance. Among them are "Srungaranaishadhamu", "Manucharitramu", "Parijatapaharanamu", "Vasucharitramu", and "Vijayalasamu".

'Kavyalahari' contains five lectures delivered by Professor Diwakarla Venkatavadhani, Head, Department of Telugu, Osmania University, introducing these classics to tne common man.

We quote from the reviews that appeared in the press regarding the critical content and the usefulness of his project, which was applauded by the critic and the common man alike.

Published in "The Indian Express", dated 8-2-1972

"It is a volume of learned discourses by Dr. Diwaka. la Venkatavadhani on the famous prabandhas in Telugu".

They are marked by a profound erudition, critical acumen, judicious evalution and sagacious pronouncement of considered opinions.

Yuvabharathi has done a real service by publishing Dr. Avadhani's literary discourses which are informative, instructive, illuminating and also interesting".

Published in "The Hindu", dated 28-11-1971

"Yuvabharathi has done a splendid job in brining about this readable book in a beautiful form".

Published in "The Indian Express", dated 19-9-1971

"It has only to be seen to be believed. All roads seemed to converge on Tilak Road. Well dressed men and women with babies in arms began to make a beeline to a familiar building from the early hours of the Sunday afternoon.........

At the end of the lecture, one had to disperse with something of a wrench that the series was over all too soon. Thousands queued up at the eight counters set up for distribution of copies of the 'Kavyalahari' volume gaily got up in rainbow colours. It was a rare sight that heartened all lovers of literature. From the scholar's closet the classics are at last on the way out into the conference halls and the wide open spaces, not to speak of the clubs and coffee-houses".

Published in "Triveni", April-June 1972

A team of young men who are very much devoted to literary activities made history under the banner of Yuvabharathi in the history of Telugu literature by organising a series of lectures by Dr. D. Venkatavadhanl, Professor of Telugu, Osmania University, and bringing out the text of the lectures into a handy volume. It is highly commendable that they printed 11,500 copies of the book and offered it at an incredible pre-publication price of Rs. 2.

The book under review contains detailed criticism of five of the most important kavyas in Telugu literature Srinagara-naishadhamu, Manucharitramu, Parijatapaharanamu, Vasucharitramu and Vijayavilasamu. The author who is a great critic, poet and Rasajna, dwelt at length on the merits of the kavyas with profuse illustrations from each one of them and expounded in detail, imagery and literary nuances of the famous poets. The book is a treatise on the Kavyas and richly deserves a place in every library, personal as well as public.

The Yuvabharathi deserves congratulations on their unique venture.

7. AKSHARALU

'Aksharalu', meaning letters, is an anthology of poems by thirteen poets. Topics range from giving apt definitions to the common place, words, to the pcints that traverse the mind at the bottom–most depths of the hearts. From dew to duty, from pot to poetry, from fire flowers to flowers that are beloved, and from laughter to lamentation.

In the words of 'Indian Express': 'Aksharalu' (letters) is an anthology of poetry well brought out by "Yuvabharathi". All the

writers show great promise and "Yuvabharathi" shonld be congratulated on bringing out this publication to encourage them.

8. CHAITANYA LAHARI

Chaitanyalahari is a worthy successor to Kavyalahari. The purpose of Kavyalahari was to carry "classics to the masses". The theme of Chaitanyalahari is to enable the younger generation, "meet the men of vision." Tnought provoking actions and words of great men of vision almost contributing to the shaping of culture always continue to inspire the Nations for generations to come. A proper understanding of such men of action, a critical appreciation of their thoughtfull deeds will always inspire the people to rededicate themselves to the high ideals which are primarily responsible for influencing the great men in the past. Chaitanyalahari is an attempt in this direction.

Chaitanyalahari contains five lectures by men of literary eminence of five selected men of vision. The contents are ;

Men of vision	Name of the speaker and writer
Tikkana Somayaji	Prof. Diwakarla Venkatavadhani
Palkuriki Somanathudu	Sri Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma
Srikrishna Devarayulu	Sri Puttaparthi Narayanacharyulu
Vemana	Sri Marupuru Kodandarama Reddy
Gurajada Appa Rao	Dr. Kothapalli Veerabhadra Rao

This Chaitanyalahari was offered at a pre-publication donation of Rs, 3/- only. We have printed 15,000 copies of this book with the object of reaching as many homes as possible.

9. MAHATHI

Telugu people occupy quite a significant position in the history of our Nation, with the language reputed as the Italian of the East and with a culture with its characteristic individuality in the mainstream of Indian culture, Twenty five years in the history of an Independent Nation are sizable and significant.

This period deserves to be studied, analysed, appreciated and if necessary, the people must be warned of the dangerous trends that may have appeared during the period. Yuvabharathi in

its own humble way attempted an unbiased and objective assessment of the various fields of activity worthy of recognition.

Mahathi, our purposeful and humble presentation to the Nation, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations, is a survey of the post-independence trends in Telugu culture, language and literature. Hundred and odd men of letters have contributed specially written articles to Mahathi.

Mahathi is unique, in the sense that it is the first ever made attempt to study so comprehensively the contemporary culture, language and literature. Topics selected include many fields and many themes, from political awareness of the Telugu people to the changing patterns of their village culture; from the economic development of Andhra Pradesh to devotionai attitude of the Telugu people; from the influence of the Marxism on Telugu literature to the literary tastes of the Telugu people; from the need to reform the Telugu script to the influence of cinemas on the the society. Special articles by the towering personalities in the literary field, Kavisamrat and Gnana Peetha award winner Sri Viswanadha Satyanarayana and the revolutionary Maha Kavi Sri Sri, about their own writing, are also included. Easays about poetry—both traditional and modern—about the novel, story and drama, occupy quite a significant portion.

Coming to the academic research done in the Universities, an attempt has been made to pool the information not only from the three Universities in Andhra Pradesh but also from the Madras University which has made its own significant contribution to Telugu research.

Language and linguistics occupy an important section. Experiments about the Telugu as the official language and Telugu as medium of instruction have been narrated in some detail.

Then the last two sections in Mahathi are concerned with various topics like writing for Radio, Journalism, writing for the cinema, reference books, books on science, autobiographies and sex in Telugu literature.

The last section attempts to study the mutual influence of literature and society. An attempt has been made to make a special

study of the youth, the students, the women, the readers, the literary journals, the libraries, the akademies and associations, conferences, politics, Gandhism, socialism and National Integration.

Surely we do not claim that Mahathi is the last word, but Mahathi is certainly the first attempt. In about 738 passages we tried to pack as much information as is possible about 25 years of independence life of the Telugu people.

Mahathi, running into 738 pages, was offered at an incredibly low pre-publication price of Rs. 7/-. We have printed 12,000 copies of this very valuable work in order to reach as many literary lovers as possible.

10 FREE INDIA FORGES AHEAD

'Free Indian Forges Ahead', the first publication of Yuvabharathi in English, is its Ninth Anniversary present to the nation which is celebrating the Silver Jubilee year of our independence.

Today we are a proud nation with a Past that is worthy, with a present that is hopeful and with a future which is bright. The 25 years have seen periods of glory and gloom. Now, more than ever, it is urgent that a re-interpretation of our rich culture is needed in order to make the youth rededicate themselves to the high ideals. Yuvabharathi has taken up this exciting and challenging opportunity to contribute its humble mite. The 33 articles in 'Free India Forges Ahead' are divided into three sections; one pertaining to Political Scene – Challenges and Responses; the second concerning Language, Literature and culture; and the third reading with to the Economic Progress.

This book is being offered at a Pre-publication donation of Rs. 5-00 only. We are printing 4000 copies of this book, and expect to reach a wide circle of readers, throughout the country.

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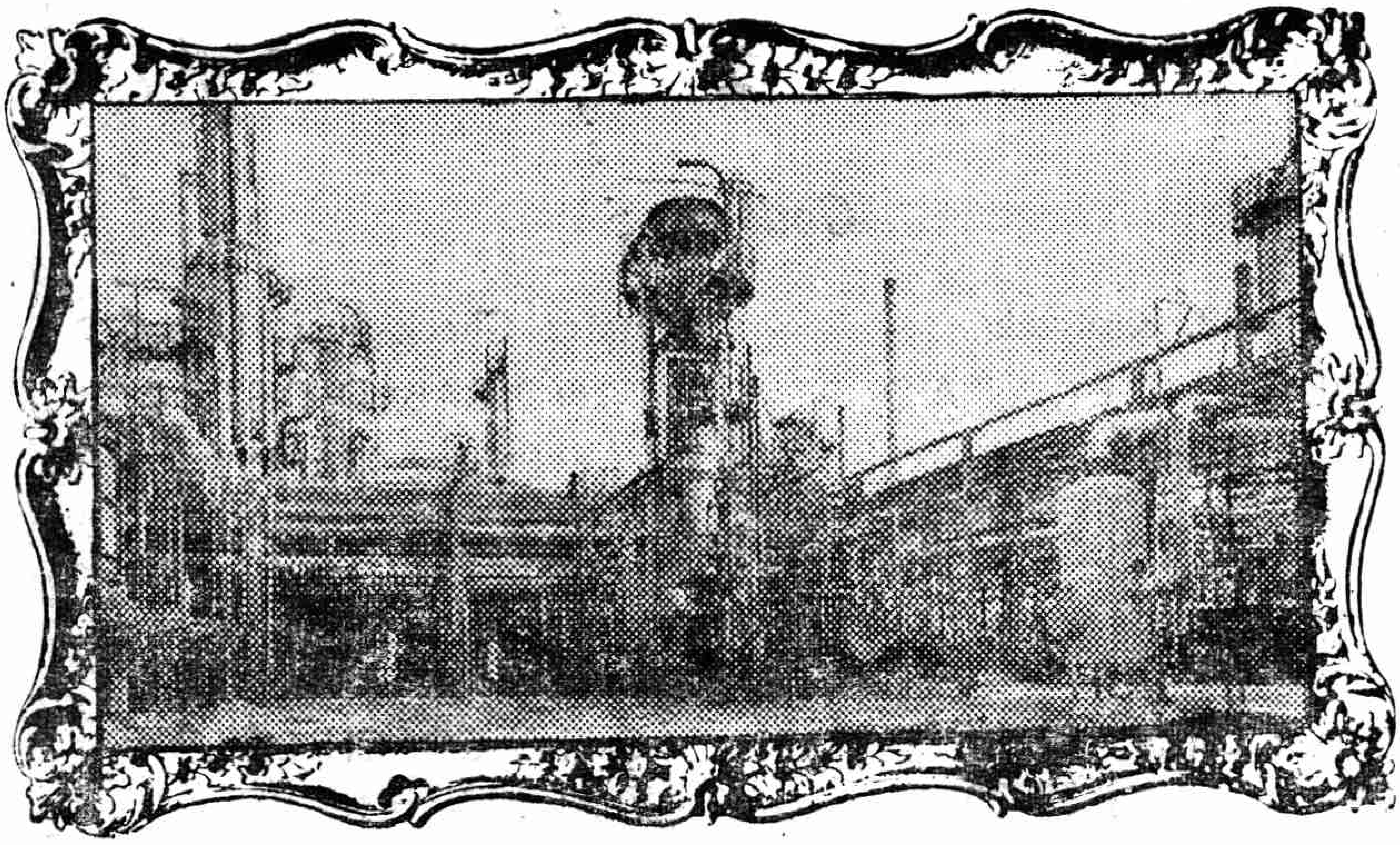
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